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Republican Political HANDBOOK

FOR

PUBLIC SPEAKERS

AND

LOCAL COMMITTEES.

COMPILED BY

HENRY O'CONNOR.

1880.

New York:
EVENING POST STEAM PRESSES, 208 BROADWAY, COR. FULTON STREET.

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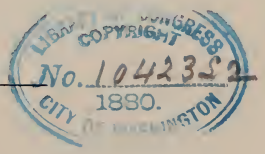

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PART I.

The Democratic Party as the Party of Obstruction.—Nothing if not Purely "Bourbon."

The history of the last session of the Forty-fifth Congress, and the first session of the Forty-sixth or present Congress, known as the extra session, is still fresh in the minds of the people. A brief resume, however, of that revolutionary period, even though it may prove tedious to the quiet and indifferent ease-loving Republican, is nevertheless important and necessary to the millions of honest, liberty-loving men and women whose hopes and patriotic aspirations are bound up in the progress, prosperity and perpetuity of this "Great Republic." As all the South American and Eastern nations invariably style it in their diplomatic papers, "The Great Republic of the North."

Few people in the near East or the great West, who were not here in Washington during that six months of strain and trial comprising the short three-month session of the Forty-fifth, and the three succeeding months of the extra session, when the Democrats got control of both Houses of Congress, knew the real dangers that threatened the nation, and from which it was saved only by the firmness of a faithful and patriotic President. All honor to Rutherford B. Hayes for his timely and manly vetoes.

Here is the history of that contest between a Democratic majority in both Houses and the Executive. This Democratic majority itself being ruled by a caucus, and the majority of that caucus being Southern Rebels, three-fourths of the latter being ex-Confederate officers, from Major-Generals down to Captains, so that, in fact, if we had had then in the executive chair Tilden or any other Democrat, the country would have been practically captured, and a prisoner in the hands of the traitors who had just come from the fields where they had spent four years trying with their swords to destroy it.

It will be remembered, that in the Presidential year of 1868, New York, the great Empire State of the Union, Republican always since 1856, when she gave Fremont eighty thousand majority, was carried by Hoffman, as Governor, and Seymour, for President, by a few thousand majority. It turned out soon after that that success was achieved by means of the most glaring frauds on the ballot-box, on the sacred right of suffrage that had ever, up to that time, been perpetrated in this or any country. (True, they have been surpassed since in Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi. The shot gun is more effective than the "repeater," unless it be a

repeating rifle.) Sixty thousand votes were cast in the cities of New York and Brooklyn by men who had no more right to vote in America than a man who lived in Tissu Lamoo or Terra-del-Fuego. Naturalization papers were hawked about in bundles through the low slums of New York by Democratic shoulder hitters, guttersnipes and vagabonds of the lowest degree, and men who received these papers at Castle Garden as they landed, voted at that election before they had been three weeks in the country. They were signed in blank by Democratic judges, and court seals fraudulently affixed by the Democratic clerks. I have had many of these papers before me, and know whereof I speak.

The thing was overdone; the sense of the nation was shocked; Congress took the matter in hand and passed certain laws, known as the Supervisor laws, and also provided for the enforcement of these laws and maintaining the peace at the polls by the calling out of the military force when the civil authority should prove inadequate to that duty.

The laws which I now quote from the Revised Statutes followed. I put them together here for convenience, and they will also be found in the several vetoes of the President, which are also appended.

"SEC. 2016. The supervisors of election, so appointed, are authorized and required to attend at all times and places fixed for the registration of voters, who, being registered, would be entitled to vote for a Representative or Delegate in Congress, and to challenge any person offering to register; to attend at all times and places when the names of registered voters may be marked for challenge, and to cause such names registered as they may deem proper to be so marked; to make, when required, the lists, or either of them, provided for in section two thousand and twenty-six, and verify the same; and upon any occasion, and at any time when in attendance upon the duty herein prescribed, to personally inspect and scrutinize such registry, and for purposes of identification to affix their signature to each page of the original list, and of each copy of any such list of registered voters, at such times, upon each day when any name may be received, entered, or registered, and in such manner as will, in their judgment, detect and expose the improper or wrongful removal therefrom, or addition thereto, of any name.

SEC. 2018. To the end that each candidate for the office of Representative or Delegate in Congress may obtain the benefit of every vote for him cast, the supervisors of election are, and each of them is, required to personally scrutinize, count, and canvass each ballot in their election district or voting precinct cast, whatever may be the indorsement on the ballot, or in whatever box it may have been placed or be found; to make and forward to the officer who, in accordance with the provisions of section two thousand and twenty-five, has been designated as the chief supervisor of the judicial district in which the city or town wherein they may serve, acts, such certificates and returns of all such ballots as such officer may direct and require, and to attach to the registry-list, and any and all copies thereof and to any certificate, statement, or return, whether the same, or any part or portion thereof, be required by any law of the United States, or of

any State, territorial, or municipal law, any statement touching the truth or accuracy of the registry, or the truth or fairness of the election and canvass, which the supervisors of the election, or either of them, may desire to make or attach, or which should properly and honestly be made or attached, in order that the facts may become known.

SEC. 2020. When in any election district or voting precinct in any city or town, for which there have been appointed supervisors of election for any election at which a Representative or Delegate in Congress is voted for, the supervisors of election are not allowed to exercise and discharge, fully and freely, and without bribery, solicitation, interference, hindrance, molestation, violence or threats thereof, on the part of any person, all the duties, obligations, and powers conferred upon them by law, the supervisors of election shall make prompt report, under oath, within ten days after the day of election to the officer who, in accordance with the provisions of section two thousand and twenty-five, has been designated as the chief supervisor of the judicial district in which the city or town wherein they served, acts, of the manner and means by which they were not so allowed to fully and freely exercise and discharge the duties and obligations required and imposed herein. And upon receiving any such report, the chief supervisor, acting both in such capacity and officially as a commissioner of the Circuit Court, shall forthwith examine into all the facts; and he shall have power to subpœna and compel the attendance before him of any witness, and to administer oaths and take testimony in respect to the charges made; and, prior to the assembling of the Congress for which any such Representative or Delegate was voted for, he shall file with the Clerk of the House of Representatives all the evidence by him taken, all information by him obtained, and all reports to him made. (See § 5522.)

SEC. 2021. Whenever an election at which Representatives or Delegates in Congress are to be chosen is held in any city or town of twenty thousand inhabitants or upward, the marshal for the district in which the city or town is situated shall, on the application, in writing, of at least two citizens residing in such city or town, appoint special deputy marshals, whose duty it shall be, when required thereto, to aid and assist the supervisors of election in the verification of any list of persons who may have registered or voted; to attend in each election district or voting precinct at the times and places fixed for the registration of voters, and at all times and places when and where the registration may by law be scrutinized, and the names of registered voters be marked for challenge; and also to attend, at all times for holding elections, the polls in such district or precinct.

SEC. 2022. The marshal and his general deputies, and such special deputies, shall keep the peace, and support and protect the supervisors of election in the discharge of their duties, preserve order at such places of registration and at such polls, prevent fraudulent registration and fraudulent voting thereat, or fraudulent conduct on the part of any officer of election, and immediately, either at the place of registration or polling place, or elsewhere, and either before or after registering or voting, to arrest and take into custody, with or without process, any person who commits, or attempts or offers to commit, any of the acts or offenses prohibited herein, or who commits any offense against the laws of the United States; but no person shall be arrested without process for any offense not committed in the presence of the marshal or his general or special deputies, or either of them,

or of the supervisors of election, or either of them, and, for the purposes of arrest or the preservation of the peace, the supervisors of election shall, in the absence of the marshal's deputies, or if required to assist such deputies, have the same duties and powers as deputy marshals; nor shall any person, on the day of such election, be arrested without process for any offense committed on the day of registration. (See §§ 5521, 5522.)

SEC. 2023. Whenever any arrest is made under any provision of this Title, the person so arrested shall forthwith be brought before a commissioner, judge, or court of the United States for examination of the offenses alleged against him; and such commissioner, judge, or court shall proceed in respect thereto as authorized by law in cases of crimes against the United States.

SEC. 2024. The marshal or his general deputies, or such special deputies as are thereto specially empowered by him, in writing, and under his hand and seal, whenever he or either or any of them is forcibly resisted in executing their duties under this Title, or shall, by violence, threats, or menaces, be prevented from executing such duties, or from arresting any person who has committed any offense for which the marshal or his general or his special deputies are authorized to make such arrest, are, and each of them is, empowered to summon and call to his aid the bystanders or posse comitatus of his district.

SEC. 2025. The circuit courts of the United States for each judicial circuit shall name and appoint, on or before the first day of May, in the year eighteen hundred and seventy-one, and thereafter as vacancies may from any cause arise, from among the circuit court commissioners for each judicial district in each judicial circuit, one of such officers, who shall be known for the duties required of him under this Title as the chief supervisor of elections of the judicial district for which he is a commissioner, and shall, so long as faithful and capable, discharge the duties in this Title imposed. (See § 627.)

SEC. 2026. The chief supervisor shall prepare and furnish all necessary books, forms, blanks and instructions for the use and direction of the supervisors of election in the several cities and towns in their respective districts; he shall receive the applications of all parties for appointment to such positions; upon the opening, as contemplated in section two thousand and twelve, of the circuit court for the judicial circuit in which the commissioner so designated, acts, he shall present such applications to the judge thereof, and furnish information to him in respect to the appointment by the court of such supervisors of elections; he shall require of the supervisors of election, when necessary, lists of the persons who may register and vote, or either, in their respective election districts or voting precincts, and cause the names of those upon any such list whose right to register or vote is honestly doubted to be verified by proper inquiry and examination at the respective places by them assigned as their residences; and he shall receive, preserve and file all oaths of office of supervisors of election, and of all special deputy marshals appointed under the provisions of this Title, and all certificates, returns, reports, and records of every kind and nature contemplated or made requisite by the provisions hereof, save where otherwise herein specially directed. (See § 627.)

SEC. 2027. All United States marshals and commissioners who in any judicial district perform any duties under the preceding provisions relating to, concerning, or affecting the election of Representatives or Delegates in the Congress of

the United States, from time to time, and, with all due diligence, shall forward to the chief supervisor in and for their judicial district, all complaints, examinations, and records pertaining thereto, and all oaths of office by them administered to any supervisor of election or special deputy marshal, in order that the same may be properly preserved and filed.

SEC. 5522. Every person, whether with or without any authority, power or process, or pretended authority, power or process, of any State, Territory, or municipality, who obstructs, hinders, assaults, or by bribery, solicitation, or otherwise, interferes with or prevents the supervisors of election, or either of them, or the marshal or his general or special deputies, or either of them, in the performance of any duty required of them, or either of them, or which he or they, or either of them, may be authorized to perform by any law of the United States, in the execution of process or otherwise, or who by any of the means before mentioned hinders or prevents the free attendance and presence at such places of registration or at such polls of election, or full and free access and egress to and from any such place of registration or poll of election, or in going to and from any such place of registration or poll of election, or to and from any room, where any such registration or election or canvass of votes, or of making any returns or certificates thereof, may be had, or who molests, interferes with, removes or ejects from any such place of registration or poll of election, or of canvassing votes cast thereat, or of making returns or certificates thereof, any supervisor of election, the marshal, or his general or special deputies, or either of them; or who threatens or attempts, or offers so to do, or refuses or neglects to aid and assist any supervisor of election or the marshal or his general or special deputies, or either of them, in the performance of his or their duties, when required by him or them, or either of them, to give such aid and assistance, shall be liable to instant arrest without process, and shall be punished by imprisonment not more than two years, or by a fine of not more than three thousand dollars, or by both such fine and imprisonment, and shall pay the costs of the prosecution.

It also contains clauses, says the President in his veto, amending sections 2017, 2019, 2028 and 2031 of the Revised Statutes. Here are the sections referred to:

"SEC. 2017. The supervisors of election are authorized and required to attend at all times and places for holding elections of Representatives or Delegates in Congress, and for counting the votes cast at such elections; to challenge any vote offered by any person whose legal qualifications the supervisors, or either of them, may doubt; to be and remain where the ballot-boxes are kept at all times after the polls are open until every vote cast at such time and place has been counted, the canvass of all votes polled wholly completed, and the proper and requisite certificates or returns made, whether the certificates or returns be required under any law of the United States, or any State, territorial, or municipal law, and to personally inspect and scrutinize, from time to time, and at all times, on the day of election, the manner in which the voting is done, and the way and method in which the poll-books, registry-lists, and tallies or check-books, whether the same are required by any law of the United States, or any State, territorial, or municipal law, are kept.

SEC. 2019. The better to enable the supervisors of election to discharge their duties, they are authorized and directed, in their respective election districts or voting precincts, on the day of registration, on the day when registered voters may be marked to be challenged, and on the day of election to take, occupy, and remain in such position, from time to time, whether before or behind the ballot-boxes, as will, in their judgment, best enable them to see each person offering himself for registration or offering to vote, and as will best conduce to their scrutinizing the manner in which the registration or voting is being conducted; and at the closing of the polls for the reception of votes.

SEC. 2028. No person shall be appointed a supervisor of election, or a deputy-marshal, under the preceding provisions, who is not, at the time of his appointment, a qualified voter of the city, town, county, parish, election district, or voting precinct in which his duties are to be performed.

SEC. 2031. There shall be allowed and paid to the chief supervisor, for his services as such officer, the following compensation, apart from and in excess of all fees allowed by law for the performance of any duty as circuit-court commissioner: For filing and caring for every return, report, record, document, or other paper required to be filed by him under any of the preceding provisions, ten cents; for affixing a seal to any paper, record, report, or instrument, twenty cents; for entering and indexing the records of his office, fifteen cents per folio; and for arranging and transmitting to Congress, as provided for in section two thousand and twenty, any report, statement, record, return, or examination, for each folio, fifteen cents; and for any copy thereof, or of any paper on file, a like sum. And there shall be allowed and paid to each supervisor of election, and each special deputy-marshal who is appointed and performs his duty under the preceding provisions, compensation at the rate of five dollars per day for each day he is actually on duty, not exceeding ten days; but no compensation shall be allowed, in any case, to supervisors of election, except to those appointed in cities or towns of twenty thousand or more inhabitants. And the fees of the chief supervisors shall be paid at the Treasury of the United States; such accounts to be made out, verified, examined, and certified as in the case of accounts of commissioners, save that the examination or certificate required may be made by either the circuit or district judge."

These manifestly just, impartial laws for the protection and security of the dearest privilege that an American citizen can enjoy, the Democrats sought to repeal during the three months of the second session of the Forty-fifth Congress—first, directly, and then by tacking to the general appropriation. By the courage and superior parliamentary management of the Republican minority, they were thwarted in their revolutionary plans, and the session finally ended with the end of that Congress on the 4th of March, leaving the Government absolutely without a dollar to run it during the next fiscal year.

The Extra Session of the new Congress thus became a necessity, and they met in April. The Democrats now had control of both the Senate and House of Representatives, and, under the caucus rule of the Brigadiers, they were able to engraft this infamous

legislation on the General Appropriation Bill, Blackburn, Singleton and others making such declarations as this sample exhibits:

"THE SOUTHERN PROGRAMME.

[*From the Hartford (Conn.) Post.*]

The special work of the *New York Tribune*, in these days, is furnishing the Republicans with an incomparable mass of campaign literature. Its papers on the repudiation of debts at the South, the account of the massacre of the Chisholm family and their friends, and the resume of reactionary legislation pending in Congress, which the Southern masters of the Democratic party now have the power as well as the will to complete, comprise a series of documents that must produce a marked effect upon the intelligent public sentiment of the country. The last-named paper proves from the files of Congress that the declaration of Mr. Blackburn of Kentucky that "We do not intend to stop till we have stricken the last vestage of your war measures from the statute book," was no idle threat, but the embodiment of a settled purpose that has already taken form in the shape of sweeping bills leveled at the power, the honor, the credit and the revenue of the National Government. These bills contain numerous provisions looking to the same general purpose. Some of them prohibit the removal to United States Courts of charges brought against revenue officers for their conduct in the discharge of their duty, thus leaving them at the mercy of local tribunals in sympathy with moonshiners and revenue robbers. The passage of one of the bills for which the Democrats made a desperate struggle at the extra session would practically suspend the collection of internal revenue in most of the Southern States. Other bills propose to leave it to the "honor" of the moonshiners to report how much spirits they have distilled and pay 25 cents per gallon tax—a measure that would, it is estimated, reduce the revenue $30,000,000! One bill is to break the contract between the Government and its creditors, by virtue of which United States bonds were non-taxable, and several are designed to enable Southern cities and counties to cheat their non-resident creditors without the interference of United States Courts, and to compel Northern insurance companies to defend claims against them only in State courts. Other bills remove the restrictions against disloyal claimants and open wide the door for a gigantic raid on the Treasury. Still others are to protect timber thieves. In short, these men seem to regard themselves as the agents and abettors of all who would rob the Government or the holders of any public securities.

As yet, a Republican President stands in the way of the consummation of these plots against the supremacy of the Nation and the integrity of its Treasury. But the character of these measures, and the source whence they come, show what we may expect in case the people are hoodwinked into admitting to the Presidential office a Democratic tool of the ex-Confederates."

I find, on looking at the papers now before me, that to give these speeches of the Rebels *in extenso* would fill a large volume.

The bill with the repeal riders passed both Houses, was sent to the President, and here is his answer to the traitors who, failing to destroy the Nation with the sword, sought to starve it to death, as they did thousands of the Union prisoners during the war:

"VETO OF LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATION BILL.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, RETURNING, WITHOUT HIS APPROVAL, THE BILL OF THE HOUSE (H. R. 2), ENTITLED "AN ACT MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE LEGISLATIVE, EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL EXPENSES OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1880, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES."

May 29, 1879.—Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

To the House of Representatives:

After mature consideration of the bill entitled 'An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty, and for other purposes,' I herewith return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with the following objections to its approval:

The main purpose of the bill is to appropriate the money required to support, during the next fiscal year, the several civil departments of the Government. The amount appropriated exceeds in the aggregate eighteen millions of dollars.

This money is needed to keep in operation the essential functions of all the great departments of the Government—legislative, executive and judicial. If the bill contained no other provisions no objection to its approval would be made. It embraces, however, a number of clauses relating to subjects of great general interest, which are wholly unconnected with the appropriations which it provides for. The objections to the practice of tacking general legislation to appropriation bills, especially when the object is to deprive a co-ordinate branch of the Government of its right to the free exercise of its own discretion and judgment touching such general legislation, were set forth in the special message in relation to House bill number one, which was returned to the House of Representatives on the 29th of last month. I regret that the objections which were then expressed to this method of legislation have not seemed to Congress of sufficient weight to dissuade from this renewed incorporation of general enactments in an appropriation bill, and that my Constitutional duty in respect of the general legislation thus placed before me cannot be discharged without seeming to delay, however briefly, the necessary appropriations by Congress for the support of the Government. Without repeating these objections, I respectfully refer to that message for a statement of my views on the principle maintained in debate by the advocates of this bill, viz., that 'to withold appropriations is a Constitutional means for the redress' of what the majority of the House of Representatives may regard as 'a grievance.'

The bill contains the following clauses, viz.:

And provided further, That the following sections of the Revised Statutes of the United States, namely, sections two thousand and sixteen, two thousand and eighteen, and two thousand and twenty, and all of the succeeding sections of said statutes down to and including section two thousand and twenty-seven, and also section fifty-five hundred and twenty-two, be, and the same are hereby, repealed; * * * and that all the other sections of the Revised Statutes, and all laws and parts of laws authorizing the appointment of chief supervisors of elections, special deputy marshals of elections or general deputy marshals having any duties to perform in respect to any election and prescribing their duties and powers and allowing them compensation, be, and the same are hereby repealed.

It also contains clauses amending sections 2017, 2019, 2028 and 2031 of the Revised Statutes.

The sections of the Revised Statutes which the bill, if approved, would repeal or amend, are part of an act approved May 30, 1870, and amended February 28, 1871, entitled 'An act to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union, and for other purposes.' All of the provisions of the above-named acts, which it is proposed in this bill to repeal or modify, relate to the Congressional elections. The remaining portion of the law, which will continue in force after the enactment of this measure, is that which provides for the appointment, by a judge of the Circuit Court of the United States, of two supervisors of election in each election district, at any Congressional election, on due application of citizens who desire, in the language of the law, 'to have such election *guarded* and *scrutinized*.' The duties of the supervisors will be to attend at the polls at all Congressional elections, and to remain after the polls are open until every vote cast has been counted, but they will 'have no authority to make arrests, or to perform other duties than to be in the immediate presence of the officers holding the election, and to witness all their proceedings, including the counting of the votes, and the making of a return thereof.' The part of the election law which will be repealed by the approval of this bill includes those sections which give authority to the supervisors of election 'to personally scrutinize, count and canvass each ballot' and all the sections which confer authority upon the United States marshals and deputy marshals, in connection with the Congressional elections.

The enactment of this bill will also repeal section 5522 of the criminal statutes of the United States, which was enacted for the protection of United States officers engaged in the discharge of their duties at the Congressional elections. This section protects supervisors and marshals in the performance of their duties, by making the obstruction or the assaulting of these officers, or any interference with them, by bribery, or solicitation, or otherwise, crimes against the United States.

The true meaning and effect of the proposed legislation are plain. The supervisors, with the authority to observe and witness the proceedings at the Congressional elections, will be left; but there will be no power to protect them, or to prevent interference with their duties, or to punish any violation of the law from which their powers are derived. If this bill is approved, only the shadow of the authority of the United States at the national elections will remain; the substance will be gone. The supervision of the elections will be reduced to a mere inspection, without authority on the part of the supervisors to do any act whatever to make the election a fair one. All that will be left to the supervisors is the permission to have such oversight of the elections as political parties are in the habit of exercising without any authority of law, in order to prevent their opponents from obtaining unfair advantages. The object of the bill is to destroy any control whatever by the United States over the Congressional elections.

The passage of this bill has been urged upon the ground that the election of members of Congress is a matter which concerns the States alone; that these elections should be controlled exclusively by the States; that there are and can be no such elections as national elections; and that the existing law of the United States regulating the Congressional elections is without warrant in the Constitution.

It is evident, however, that the framers of the Constitution regarded the election of members of Congress in every State and in every district as, in a very important sense, justly a matter of political interest and concern to the whole country. The original provision of the Constitution on this subject is as follows (section 4, article 1):

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

A further provision has been since added, which is embraced in the fifteenth amendment. It is as follows:

SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Under the general provision of the Constitution (section 4, article 1) Congress, in 1866, passed a comprehensive law, which prescribed full and detailed regulations for the election of Senators by the Legislatures of the several States. This law has been in force almost thirteen years. In pursuance of it all the members of the present Senate of the United States hold their seats. Its Constitutionality is not called in question. It is confidently believed that no sound argument can be made in support of the Constitutionality of national regulation of Senatorial elections which will not show that the elections of members of the House of Representatives may also be Constitutionally regulated by the national authority.

The bill before me itself recognizes the principle that the Congressional elections are not State elections, but national elections. It leaves in full force the existing statute, under which supervisors are still to be appointed by national authority, to 'observe and witness' the Congressional elections whenever due application is made by citizens who desire said elections to be 'guarded and scrutinized.' If the power to supervise, in any respect whatever, the Congressional elections exists, under section 4, article 1, of the Constitution, it is a power which, like every other power belonging to the Government of the United States, is paramount and supreme, and includes the right to employ the necessary means to carry it into effect.

The statutes of the United States which regulate the election of members of the House of Representatives, an essential part of which it is proposed to repeal by this bill, have been in force about eight years. Four Congressional elections have been held under them, two of which were at the Presidential elections of 1872 and 1876. Numerous prosecutions, trials and convictions have been had in the courts of the United States in all parts of the Union for violations of these laws. In no reported case has their Constitutionality been called in question by any judge of the courts of the United States. The validity of these laws is sustained by the uniform course of judicial action and opinion.

If it is urged that the United States election laws are not necessary, an ample reply is furnished by the history of their origin and of their results. They were especially prompted by the investigation and exposure of the frauds committed in the city and State of New York at the elections of 1868. Committees represent-

ing both of the leading political parties of the country have submitted reports to the House of Representatives on the extent of those frauds. A committee of the Fortieth Congress, after a full investigation, reached the conclusion that the number of fraudulent votes cast in the City of New York alone in 1868, was not less than twenty-five thousand. A committee of the Forty-fourth Congress, in their report submitted in 1877, adopted the opinion that for every one hundred actual voters of the city of New York in 1868, one hundred and eight votes were cast, when, in fact, the number of lawful votes cast could not have exceeded eighty-eight per cent. of the actual voters of the city. By this statement the number of fraudulent votes at that election, in the city of New York alone was between thirty and forty thousand. These frauds completely reversed the result of the election in the State of New York, both as to the choice of governor and State officers, and as to the choice of electors of President and Vice-President of the United States. They attracted the attention of the whole country. It was plain that if they could be continued and repeated with impunity free government was impossible. A distinguished Senator, in opposing the passage of the election laws, declared that he had for a long time believed that our form of Government was a comparative failure in the larger cities. To meet these evils and to prevent these crimes the United States laws regulating Congressional elections were enacted.

The framers of these laws have not been disappointed in their results. In the large cities, under their provisions, the elections have been comparatively peaceable, orderly and honest. Even the opponents of these laws have borne testimony to their value and efficiency and to the necessity for their enactment. The committee of the Forty-fourth Congress, composed of members a majority of whom were opposed to these laws, in their report on the New York election of 1876 said:

The committee would commend to other portions of the country and to other cities this remarkable system, developed through the agency of both local and Federal authorities acting in harmony for an honest purpose. In no portion of the world, and in no era of time, where there has been an expression of the popular will through the forms of law, has there been a more complete and thorough illustration of republican institutions. Whatever may have been the previous habit or conduct of elections in those cities, or howsoever they may conduct themselves in the future, this election of 1876 will stand as a monument of what good faith, honest endeavor, legal forms and just authority may do for the protection of the electoral franchise.

This bill recognizes the authority and duty of the United States to appoint supervisors to guard and scrutinize the Congressional elections, but it denies to the Government of the United States all power to make its supervision effectual. The great body of the people of all parties want free and fair elections. They do not think that a free election means freedom from the wholesome restraints of law, or that the place of election should be a sanctuary for lawlessness and crime. On the day of an election peace and good order are more necessary than on any other day of the year. On that day the humblest and feeblest citizens, the aged and the infirm should be, and should have reason to feel that they are, safe in the exercise of their most responsible duty and their most sacred right as members of society—their duty and their right to vote. The Constitutional authority to regulate the Congressional elections, which belongs to the Government of the

United States, and which it is necessary to exert to secure the right to vote to every citizen possessing the requisite qualifications, ought to be enforced by appropriate legislation. So far from public opinion in any part of the country favoring any relaxation of the authority of the Government in the protection of elections from violence and corruption, I believe it demands greater vigor both in the enactment and in the execution of the laws framed for that purpose. Any oppression, any partisan partiality, which experience may have shown in the working of existing laws, may well engage the careful attention both of Congress and of the Executive, in their respective spheres of duty, for the correction of these mischiefs. As no Congressional elections occur until after the regular session of Congress will have been held, there seems to be no public exigency that would preclude a seasonable consideration at that session of any administrative details that might improve the present methods designed for the protection of all citizens in the complete and equal exercise of the right and power of the suffrage at such elections. But with my views, both of the constitutionality and of the value of the existing laws, I cannot approve any measure for their repeal, except in connection with the enactment of other legislation which may reasonably be expected to afford wiser and more efficient safeguards for free and honest Congressional elections.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 29, 1879."

The caucus was again set in motion after the reception of the foregoing veto message, and the Democratic majority were instructed to pursue indirectly the objective point of the Rebel policy, as announced by Blackburn, Singleton and other leaders of the Southern Brigadiers; namely, that the efforts of the Democracy would not cease until they had wiped from the statute book every vestage of the Republican post-war legislation. Accordingly, what is known as the Judicial Expense Bill was loaded in a covert way with all the obnoxious and revolutionary features of the General Appropriation Bill which had just been vetoed.

The President was again obliged to accept the alternative of vetoing this bill or allowing the country to run to anarchy. This veto explains itself. Here it is:

"MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ASSIGNING OBJECTIONS TO THE APPROVAL OF THE BILL OF THE HOUSE (H. R., 2255) 'MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR CERTAIN JUDICIAL EXPENSES.'

JUNE 23, 1879.—Ordered to be printed.

To the House of Representatives:

After careful examination of the bill entitled 'An Act making Appropriations for certain Judicial Expenses,' I return it herewith to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with the following objections to its approval:

The general purpose of the bill is to provide for certain judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, for which the sum of $2,690,000 is appropriated. These appropriations are required to keep in operation the general functions of the Judicial Department of the Government, and, if this part of the bill stood alone, there would be no objection to its approval.

It contains, however, other provisions, to which I desire respectfully to ask your attention.

At the present session of Congress, a majority of both Houses, favoring a repeal of the Congressional Election Laws embraced in the title 26 of the Revised Statutes, passed a measure for that purpose, as part of a bill entitled 'An Act making appropriations for the legislative, executive and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880; and for other purposes.' Unable to concur with Congress in that measure, on the 29th of May last I returned the bill to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, without my approval, for that further consideration for which the Constitution provides. On reconsideration the bill was approved by less than two-thirds of the House, and failed to become a law. The election laws, therefore, remain valid enactments, and the supreme law of the land, binding not only upon all private citizens, but also alike and equally binding upon all who are charged with the duties and responsibilities of the legislative, the executive and the judicial departments of the Government.

It is not sought by the bill before me to repeal the election laws. Its object is to defeat their enforcement. The last clause of the first section is as follows:

And no part of the money hereby appropriated is appropriated to pay any salaries, compensation, fees or expenses under or in virtue of title 26 of the Revised Statutes, or of any provision of said title.

Title 26 of the Revised Statutes, referred to in the foregoing clause, relates to the elective franchise, and contains the laws now in force regulating the Congressional elections.

The second section of the bill reaches much further. It is as follows:

SEC. 2. That the sums appropriated in this act for the persons and public service embraced in its provisions are in full for such persons and public service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and no department or officer of the Government shall, during said fiscal year, make any contract or incur any liability for the future payment of money under any of the provisions of title 26 of the Revised Statutes of the United States authorizing the appointment or payment of general or special deputy marshals for service in connection with elections or on election day, until an appropriation sufficient to meet such contract or pay such liability shall have first been made by law.

This section of the bill is intended to make an extensive and essential change in the existing laws. The following are the provisions of the statutes on the same subject which are now in force:

SEC. 3679. No department of the Government shall expend, in any one fiscal year, any sum in excess of appropriations made by Congress for that fiscal year, or involve the Government in any contract for the future payment of money in excess of such appropriations.

SEC. 3732. No contract or purchase on behalf of the United States shall be made unless the same is authorized by law, or is under an appropriation adequate to its fulfillment, except in the War and Navy Departments, for clothing, subsistence, forage, fuel, quarters or transportation, which, however, shall not exceed the necessities of the current year.

The object of these sections of the Revised Statutes is plain. It is, first, to prevent any money from being expended unless appropriations have been made therefor; and, second, to prevent the Government from being bound by any contract not previously authorized by law, except for certain necessary purposes in the War and Navy Departments.

Under the existing laws the failure of Congress to make the appropriations required for the execution of the provisions of the election laws would not prevent their enforcement. The right and duty to appoint the general and special deputy marshals which they provide for would still remain, and the executive department of the Government would also be empowered to incur the requisite liability for their compensation. But the second section of this bill contains a prohibition not found in any previous legislation. Its design is to render the election laws inoperative and a dead letter during the next fiscal year. It is sought to accomplish this by omitting to appropriate money for their enforcement, and by expressly prohibiting any department or officer of the Government from incurring any liability under any of the provisions of title 26 of the Revised Statutes authorizing the appointment or payment of general or special deputy marshals for service on election days until an appropriation sufficient to pay such liability shall have first been made.

The President is called upon to give his affirmative approval to positive enactments which in effect deprive him of the ordinary and necessary means of executing laws still left in the statute-book, and embraced within his constitutional duty to see that the laws are executed. If he approves the bill, and thus gives to such positive enactments the authority of law, he participates in the curtailment of his means of seeing that the law is faithfully executed, while the obligation of the law and of his constitutional duty remains unimpaired.

The appointment of special deputy marshals is not made by the statute a spontaneous act of authority on the part of any executive or judicial officer of the government, but is accorded as a popular right of the citizens to call into operation this agency for securing the purity and freedom of elections in any city or town having twenty thousand inhabitants or upward. Section 2021 of the Revised Statutes puts it in the power of any two citizens of such city or town to require of the marshal of the district the appointment of these special deputy marshals. Thereupon the duty of the marshal becomes imperative, and its non-performance would expose him to judicial mandate or punishment, or to removal from office by the President, as the circumstances of his conduct might require. The bill now before me neither revokes this popular right of the citizens nor relieves the marshal of the duty imposed by law, nor the President of his duty to see that this law is faithfully executed.

I forbear to enter again upon any general discussion of the wisdom and necessity of the election laws or of the dangerous and unconstitutional principle of this bill, that the power vested in Congress to originate appropriations involves the right to compel the Executive to approve any legislation which Congress may see fit to attach to such bills, under the penalty of refusing the means needed to carry on essential functions of the government. My views on these subjects have been sufficiently presented in the special messages sent by me to the House of Representatives during their present session. What was said in those messages I regard as conclusive as to my duty in respect to the bill before me. The arguments urged in those communications against the repeal of the election laws and against the right of Congress to deprive the Executive of that separate and independent discretion and judgment which the Constitution confers and requires are equally cogent in opposition to this bill. This measure leaves the power and duties of the supervisors of elections untouched. The compensation of those offi-

cers is provided for under permanent laws, and no liability for which an appropriation is now required would therefore be incurred by their appointment. But the power of the National Government to protect them in the discharge of their duty at the polls would be taken away. The States may employ both civil and military power at the elections, but by this bill even the civil authority to protect congressional elections is denied to the United States. The object is to prevent any adequate control by the United States over the national elections by forbidding the payment of deputy marshals, the officers who are clothed with authority to enforce the election laws.

The fact that these laws are deemed objectionable by a majority of both Houses of Congress is urged as a sufficient warrant for this legislation.

There are two lawful ways to overturn legislative enactments. One is their repeal; the other is the decision of a competent tribunal against their validity. The effect of this bill is to deprive the executive department of the Government of the means to execute laws which are not repealed, which have not been declared invalid, and which it is, therefore, the duty of the Executive and of every other department of government to obey and to enforce.

I have in my former message on this subject expressed a willingness to concur in suitable amendments for the improvement of the election laws; but I cannot consent to their absolute and entire repeal, and I cannot approve legislation which seeks to prevent their enforcement.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 23, 1879."

The ingenuity of the caucus was not yet exhausted; the Southern Brigadiers ordered a battalion drill; the old Southern slave-masters cracked their whips over the Northern dough-faces, and here is the provision of the law they next aimed to "wipe out," not a post-war measure, to use the language of some of the gentlemen themselves, but a law, the substance of which had been on the statute book since 1792.

"SEC. 5298.—Whenever, by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages of persons, or rebellion against the authority of the Government of the United States, it shall become impracticable, in the judgment of the President, to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the laws of the United States within any State or Territory, it shall be lawful for the President to call forth the militia of any or all the States, and to employ such parts of the land and naval forces of the United States as he may deem necessary to enforce the faithful execution of the laws of the United States, or to suppress such rebellion, in whatever State or Territory thereof the laws of the United States may be forcibly opposed, or the execution thereof forcibly obstructed."

Here is the arm of the Executive stretched forth again to stop revolution.

"MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ASSIGNING OBJECTIONS TO THE APPROVAL OF THE BILL OF THE HOUSE (H. R. 1382) ENTITLED 'AN ACT TO PROHIBIT MILITARY INTERFERENCE AT ELECTIONS.'

MAY 12, 1879.—Ordered to be printed.—MAY 13, 1879.—Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

To the House of Representatives:

After a careful consideration of the bill entitled 'An Act to Prohibit Military Interference at Elections,' I return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with the following objections to its approval:

In the communication sent to the House of Representatives on the 29th of last month, returning to the House without my approval the bill entitled 'An Act making Appropriations for the Support of the Army for the fiscal year ending, June 30, 1880, and for other purposes,' I endeavored to show by quotations from the statutes of the United States now in force, and by a brief statement of facts in regard to recent elections in the several States, that no additional legislation was necessary to prevent interference with the elections by the military or naval forces of the United States. The fact was presented in that communication that at the time of the passage of the act of June 18, 1878, in relation to the employment of the Army as a *posse comitatus* or otherwise, it was maintained by its friends that it would establish a vital and fundamental principle, which would secure to the people protection against a standing army. The fact was also referred to that since the passage of this act, Congressional, State, and municipal elections have been held throughout the Union, and that in no instance has complaint been made of the presence of the United States soldiers at the polls.

Holding as I do the opinion that any military interference whatever at the polls is contrary to the spirit of our institutions, and would tend to destroy the freedom of elections, and sincerely desiring to concur with Congress in all of its measures, it is with very great regret that I am forced to the conclusion that the bill before me is not only unnecessary to prevent such interference, but is a dangerous departure from long-settled and important Constitutional principles.

The true rule as to the employment of military force at the elections is not doubtful. No intimidation or coercion should be allowed to control or influence citizens in the exercise of their right to vote, whether it appear in the shape of combinations of evil-disposed persons, or of armed bodies of the militia of a State, or of the military force of the United Stats.

The elections should be free from all forcible interference, and, as far as practicable, from all apprehension of such interference. No soldiers, either of the Union or of the State militia, should be present at the polls to take the place or to perform the duties of the ordinary civil police force. There has been and will be no violation of this rule under orders from me during this administration. But there should be no denial of the right of the national Government to employ its military force on any day and at any place in case such employment is necessary to enforce the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The bill before me is as follows:

Be it enacted, &c., That it shall not be lawful to bring to, or employ at, any place where a general or special election is being held in a State, any part of the Army or Navy of the United States, unless such force be necessary to repel the

armed enemies of the United States, or to enforce section 4, article 4, of the Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, on application of the Legislature or executive of the State where such force is to be used; and so much of all laws as is inconsistent herewith is hereby repealed.

It will be observed that the bill exempts from the general prohibition against the employment of military force at the polls two specified cases. These exceptions recognize and concede the soundness of the principle that military force may properly and constitutionally be used at the place of elections, when such use is necessary to enforce the Constitution and the laws. But the excepted cases leave the prohibition so extensive and far-reaching, that its adoption will seriously impair the efficiency of the executive department of the Government.

The first act expressly authorizing the use of military power to execute the laws was passed almost as early as the organization of the Government under the Constitution, and was approved by President Washington May 2, 1792. It is as follows:

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed, in any State, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by this act, the same being notified to the President of the United States by an associate justice or the district judge, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia of such State to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed. And if the militia of a State where such combinations may happen shall refuse, or be insufficient to suppress the same, it shall be lawful for the President, if the Legislature of the United States, be not in session, to call forth and employ such numbers of the militia of any other State or States most convenient thereto as may be necessary; and the use of militia, so to be called forth may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the ensuing session.

In 1795 this provision was substantially re-enacted in a law which repealed the act of 1792. In 1807 the following act became the law by the approval of President Jefferson:

That in all cases of insurrection or obstruction to the laws, either of the United States or of any individual State or Territory, where it is lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection, or of causing the laws to be duly executed, it shall be lawful for him to employ, for the same purposes, such part of the land or the naval forces of the United States as shall be judged necessary, having first observed all the prerequisites of the law in that respect.

By this act it will be seen that the scope of the law of 1795 was extended so as to authorize the National Government to use not only the militia but the army and navy of the United States in 'causing the laws to be duly executed.'

The important provision of the acts of 1792, 1795 and 1807, modified in its terms from time to time to adapt it to the existing emergency, remained in force until, by an act approved by President Lincoln, July 29, 1861, it was re-enacted substantially in the same language in which it is now found in the Revised Statutes, viz:

SEC. 5298. Whenever, by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages of persons, or rebellion against the authority of the Government of the United States, it shall become impracticable, in the judgment of the President, to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the laws of the United

States within any State or territory, it shall be lawful for the President to call forth the militia of any or all the States, and to employ such parts of the land and naval forces of the United States as he may deem necessary to enforce the faithful execution of the laws of the United States, or to suppress such rebellion, in whatever State or Territory thereof the laws of the United States may be forcibly opposed, or the execution thereof forcibly obstructed.

This ancient and fundamental law has been in force from the foundation of the Government. It is now proposed to abrogate it on certain days and at certain places. In my judgment no fact has been produced which tends to show that it ought to be repealed or suspended for a single hour at any place in any of the States or Territories of the Union. All the teachings of experience in the course of our history are in favor of sustaining its efficiency unimpaired. On every occasion when the supremacy of the Constitution has been resisted, and the perpetuity of our institutions imperiled, the principle of this statute, enacted by the fathers, has enabled the Government of the Union to maintain its authority and to preserve the integrity of the nation.

At the most critical periods of our history, my predecessors in the executive office have relied on this great principle. It was on this principle that President Washington suppressed the whisky rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1794.

In 1806, on the same principle, President Jefferson broke up the Burr conspiracy by issuing 'orders for the employment of such force either of the regulars or of the militia, and by such proceedings of the civil authorities, * * * as might enable them to suppress effectually the further progress of the enterprise.' And it was under the same authority that President Jackson crushed nullification in South Carolina, and that President Lincoln issued his call for troops to save the Union in 1861. On numerous other occasions of less significance, under probably every administration, and certainly under the present, this power has been usefully exerted to enforce the laws, without objection by any party in the country, and almost without attracting public attention.

The great elementary Constitutional principle which was the foundation of the original statute of 1792, and which has been its essence in the various forms it has assumed since its first adoption, is that the Government of the United States possesses under the Constitution, in full measure, the power of self-protection by its own agencies, altogether independent of State authority, and, if need be, against the hostility of State governments. It should remain embodied in our statutes unimpaired, as it has been from the very origin of the government. It should be regarded as hardly less valuable or less sacred than a provision of the Constitution itself.

There are many other important statutes containing provisions that are liable to be suspended or annulled at the times and places of holding elections, if the bill before me should become a law. I do not not undertake to furnish a list of them. Many of them—perhaps the most of them—have been set forth in the debates on this measure. They relate to extradition, to crimes against the election laws, to quarantine regulations, to neutrality, to Indian reservations, to the civil rights of citizens, and to other subjects. In regard to them all, it may be safely said that the meaning and effect of this bill is to take from the general government an important part of its power to enforce the laws.

Another grave objection to the bill is its discrimination in favor of the State

and against the national authority. The presence or employment of the Army or Navy of the United States is lawful under the terms of this bill at the place where an election is being held in a State to uphold the authority of a State government then and there in need of such military intervention, but unlawful to uphold the authority of the Government of the United States then and there in need of such military intervention, Under this bill the presence or employment of the Army and Navy of the United States would be lawful and might be necessary to maintain the conduct of a State election against the domestic violence that would overthrow it, but would be unlawful to maintain the conduct of a national election against the same local violence that would overthrow it. This discrimination has never been attempted in any previous legislation by Congress, and is no more compatible with sound principles of the Constitution or the necessary maxims and methods of our system of government on occasions of elections than at other times. In the early legislation of 1792 and of 1795, by which the militia of the States was the only military power resorted to for the execution of the Constitutional powers in support of State or national authority, both functions of the Government were put upon the same footing. By the Act of 1807 the employment of the Army and Navy was authorized for the performance of both Constitutional duties in the same terms.

In all later statutes on the same subject-matter the same measure of authority to the Government has been accorded for the performance of both these duties. No precedent has been found in any previous legislation, and no sufficient reason has been given for the discrimination in favor of the State and against the national authority which this bill contains.

Under the sweeping terms of the bill the national government is effectually shut out from the exercise of the right and from the discharge of the imperative duty to use its whole executive power whenever and wherever required for the enforcement of its laws at the places and times when and where its elections are held. The employment of its organized armed forces for any such purpose would be an offense against the law unless called for by, and, therefore, upon permission of, the authorities of the State in which the occasion arises. What is this but the substitution of the discretion of the State governments for the discretion of the Government of the United States as to the performance of its own duties? In my judgment, this is an abandonment of its obligations by the national government; a subordination of national authority and an intrusion of State supervision over national duties, which amounts, in spirit and tendency, to State supremacy.

Though I believe that the existing statutes are abundantly adequate to completely prevent military interference with the elections in the sense in which the phrase is used in the title of this bill, and is employed by the people of this country, I shall find no difficulty in concurring in any additional legislation limited to that object which does not interfere with the indispensable exercise of the powers of the government under the Constitution and laws.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES."

People may wonder at my following up these veto messages, but I will follow them to the end. They make up the real struggle of the year that must be ever memorable, 1879, when the great struggle between law and order, the maintenance of self-govern-

ment and the perpetuity of the Republic, maintained on the one side by the President and the faithful and courageous Republican minority in Congress, and a brutal, blood-stained, murder-branded, barbaric Oligarchy of Democratic, Southern traitors and Northern dough-faced Copperheads, who sought to undermine by fraud the country that they had striven unavailingly for four years to destroy by force. It is the history of a struggle of barbarism, oppression, murder and treason on the one hand and civilization, intelligence, industry and progress on the other. The prelude to the great final battle now going on, not between two men but between these two sets of principles. Which shall it be, men of the North, a solid South and barbarism, injustice and murder, or a SOLID NORTH with civilization—Christian, not Oriental—education, industry, free and well paid labor, and happy homes for yourselves and your children.

You must answer this question one way or the other to yourselves, your children, your country and humanity on the second day of November next.

Here is the next veto. It needs no comments. It carries with it its own, and fairly rings and glistens with the grand patriotism that inspired its author:

"VETO OF THE ARMY BILL.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UPON RETURNING THE BILL OF THE HOUSE (H. R., 1) ENTITLED 'AN ACT MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE ARMY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1880, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES,' WITH HIS OBJECTIONS TO ITS APPROVAL.

APRIL 30, 1879.—Made the special order for May 1, 1879, and ordered to be printed.

To the House of Representatives:

I have maturely considered the important questions presented by the bill entitled 'An Act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes,' and I now return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with my objections to its approval.

The bill provides in the usual form for the appropriations required for the support of the Army during the next fiscal year. If it contained no other provisions, it would receive my prompt approval. It includes, however, further legislation, which, attached as it is to appropriations which are requisite for the efficient performance of some of the most necessary duties of the Government, involves questions of the gravest character. The sixth section of the bill is amendatory of the statute now in force in regard to the authority of persons in the civil, military, and naval service of the United States 'at the place where any general or special election is held in any State.' This statute was adopted February 25, 1865, after a protracted debate in the Senate, and almost without opposition in the House of Representatives, by the concurrent votes of both of the leading political parties of the country, and became a law by the approval of President Lincoln. It was re

enacted in 1874 in the Revised Statutes of the United States, sections 2002 and 5528, which are as follows:

SEC. 2002. No military or naval officer, or other person engaged in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, shall order, bring, keep, or have under his authority or control, any troops or armed men at the place where any general or special election is held in any State, unless it be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States, or to keep the peace at the polls.

SEC. 5528. Every officer of the Army or Navy, or other person in the civil, military or naval service of the United States, who orders, brings, keeps, or has under his authority or control, any troops or armed men at any place where a general or special election is held in any State, unless such force be necessary to repel armed enemies of the United States, or to keep the peace at the polls, shall be fined not more than $5,000, and suffer imprisonment at hard labor not less than three months nor more than five years.

The amendment proposed to this statute, in the bill before me, omits from both of the foregoing sections the words 'or to keep the peace at the polls.' The effect of the adoption of this amendment may be considered—

First. Upon the right of the United States Government to use military force to keep the peace at the elections for members of Congress; and—

Second. Upon the right of the Government, by civil authority, to protect these elections from violence and fraud.

In addition to the sections of the statute above quoted, the following provisions of law relating to the use of the military power at the elections are now in force:

SEC. 2003. No officer of the Army or Navy of the United States shall prescribe or fix, or attempt to prescribe or fix, by proclamation, order, or otherwise, the qualifications of voters in any State, or in any manner interfere with the freedom of any election in any State, or with the exercise of the free right of suffrage in any State.

SEC. 5529. Every officer, or other person in the military or naval service, who, by force, threat, intimidation, order, advice, or otherwise, prevents, or attempts to prevent, any qualified voter of any State from freely exercising the right of suffrage at any general or special election in such State, shall be fined not more than five thousand dollars, and imprisoned at hard labor not more than five years.

SEC. 5530. Every officer of the Army or Navy who prescribes or fixes, or attempts to prescribe or fix, whether by proclamation, order or otherwise, the qualifications of voters at any election in any State, shall be punished as provided in the preceding section.

SEC. 5531. Every officer or other person in the military or naval service who, by force, threat, intimidation, order, or otherwise, compels, or attempts to compel, any officer holding an election in any State to receive a vote from a person not legally qualified to vote, or who imposes, or attempts to impose, any regulations for conducting any general or special election in a State, different from those prescribed by law, or who interferes in any manner with any officer of an election in the discharge of his duty, shall be punished as provided in section fifty-five hundred and twenty-nine.

SEC. 5532. Every person convicted of any of the offenses specified in the five preceding sections shall, in addition to the punishments therein severally prescribed, be disqualified from holding any office of honor, profit, or trust under the United States; but nothing in those sections shall be construed to prevent any officer, soldier, sailor, or marine from exercising the right of suffrage in any election district to which he may belong, if otherwise qualified according to the laws of the State in which he offers to vote.

The following enactments would seem to be sufficient to prevent military interference with the elections. But the last Congress, to remove all apprehension of such interference, added to this body of law section 15 of an act entitled 'An act

making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879, and for other purposes,' approved June 18, 1878, which is as follows:

SEC. 15. From and after the passage of this act it shall not be lawful to employ any part of the Army of the United States, as a *posse comitatus* or otherwise, for the purpose of executing the laws, except in such cases and under such circumstances as such employment of said force may be expressly authorized by the Constitution or by act of Congress; and no money appropriated by this act shall be used to pay any of the expenses incurred in the employment of any troops in violation of this section, and any person willfully violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars or imprisonment not exceeding two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

This act passed the Senate, after full consideration, without a single vote recorded against it on its final passage, and, by a majority of more than two-thirds it was concurred in by the House of Representatives.

The purpose of the section quoted was stated in the Senate by one of its supporters as follows:

Therefore I hope, without getting into any controversy about the past, but acting wisely for the future, that we shall take away the idea that the Army can be used by a general or special deputy marshal, or any marshal, merely for election purposes as a *posse*, ordering them about the polls or ordering them anywhere else, when there is no election going on, to prevent disorders or to suppress disturbance that should be suppressed by the peace officers of the State, or, if they must bring others to their aid, they should summon the unorganized citizens, and not summon the officers and men of the Army as a *posse comitatus* to quell disorders, and thus get up a feeling which will be disastrous to peace among the people of the country.

In the House of Representatives the object of the act of 1878 was stated by the gentleman who had it in charge in similar terms. He said:

But these are all minor points and insignificant questions compared with the great principle which was incorporated by the House in the bill in reference to the use of the Army in time of peace. The Senate had already conceded what they called, and what we might accept, as the principle, but they had stricken out the penalty, and had stricken out the word '*expressly*,' so that the Army might be used in all cases where *implied* authority might be inferred. The House committee planted themselves firmly upon the doctrine that rather than yield this fundamental principle, for which for three years this House had struggled, they would allow the bill to fail, notwithstanding the reforms which we had secured, regarding these reforms as of but little consequence alongside the great principle that the Army of the United States, in time of peace, should be under the control of Congress and obedient to its laws. After a long and protracted negotiation, the Senate committee have conceded that principle in all its length and breadth, including the penalty, which the Senate had stricken out. We bring you back, therefore, a report, with the alteration of a single word, which the lawyers assure me is proper to be made, restoring to this bill the principle for which we have contended so long and which is so vital to secure the rights and liberties of the people.

* * * * * * * * *

Thus have we, this day, secured to the people of this country the same great protection against a standing army which cost a struggle of two hundred years for the Commons of England to secure for the British people.

From this brief review of the subject it sufficiently appears that, under existing laws, there can be no military interference with the elections. No case of such interference has, in fact, occurred since the passage of the act last referred to. No

soldier of the United States has appeared under orders at any place of election in any State. No complaint even of the presence of United States troops has been made in any quarter. It may, therefore, be confidently stated that there is no necessity for the enactment of section six of the bill before me to prevent military interference with the elections. The laws already in force are all that is required for that end.

But that part of section six of this bill which is significant and vitally important, is the clause which, if adopted, will deprive the civil authorities of the United States of all power to keep the peace at the Congressional elections. The Congressional elections in every district, in a very important sense, are justly a matter of political interest and concern throughout the whole country. Each State, every political party is entitled to the share of power which is conferred by the legal and Constitutional suffrage. It is the right of every citizen possessing the qualifications prescribed by law, to cast one unintimidated ballot, and to have his ballot honestly counted. So long as the exercise of this power and the enjoyment of this right are common and equal, practically as well as formally, submission to the results of the suffrage will be accorded loyally and cheerfully, and all the departments of government will feel the true vigor of the popular will thus expressed.

Two provisions of the Constitution authorize legislation by Congress for the regulation of the Congressional elections.

Section 4 of Article 1 of the Constitution declares—

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The fifteenth amendment of the Constitution is as follows:

SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The Supreme Court has held that this amendment invests the citizens of the United States with a new Constitutional right which is within the protecting power of Congress. That right the court declares to be exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The power of Congress to protect this right by appropriate legislation is expressly affirmed by the court.

National legislation to provide safeguards for free and honest elections is necessary, as experience has shown, not only to secure the right to vote to the enfranchised race at the South, but also to prevent fraudulent voting in the large cities of the North. Congress has, therefore, exercised the power conferred by the Constitution, and has enacted certain laws to prevent discriminations on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and to punish fraud, violence, and intimidation at federal elections. Attention is called to the following sections of the Revised Statutes of the United States, viz:

Section 2004, which guarantees to all citizens the right to vote without distinction on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Sections 2005 and 2006, which guarantee to all citizens equal opportunity,

without discrimination, to perform all the acts required by law as a prerequisite or qualification for voting.

Section 2022, which authorizes the United States marshal and his deputies to keep the peace and preserve order at the Federal elections.

Section 2024, which expressly authorizes the United States marshal and his deputies to summon a *posse comitatus* whenever they or any of them are forcibly resisted in the execution of their duties under the law, or are prevented from executing such duties by violence.

Section 5522, which provides for the punishment of the crime of interfering with the supervisors of elections and deputy marshals in the discharge of their duties at the elections of Representatives in Congress.

These are some of the laws on this subject which it is the duty of the Executive Department of the Government to enforce. The intent and effect of the sixth section of this bill is to prohibit all the civil officers of the United States, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, from employing any adequate civil force for this purpose at the place where their enforcement is most necessary, namely, at the places where the Congressional elections are held. Among the most valuable enactments to which I have referred are those which protect the supervisors of Federal elections in the discharge of their duties at the polls. If the proposed legislation should become the law there will be no power vested in any officer of the Government to protect from violence the officers of the United States engaged in the discharge of their duties. Their rights and duties under the law will remain, but the National Government will be powerless to enforce its own statutes. The States may employ both military and civil power to keep the peace, and to enforce the laws at State elections. It is now proposed to deny to the United States even the necessary civil authority to protect the national elections. No sufficient reason has been given for this discrimination in favor of the State and against the national authority. If well-founded objections exist against the present national election laws all good citizens should unite in their amendment. The laws providing the safeguards of the elections should be impartial, just and efficient. They should, if possible, be so non-partisan and fair in their operation that the minority—the party out of power—will have no just grounds to complain. The present laws have, in practice, unquestionably conduced to the prevention of fraud and violence at the elections. In several of the States members of different political parties have applied for the safeguards which they furnish. It is the right and duty of the National Government to enact and enforce laws which will secure free and fair Congressional elections. The laws now in force should not be repealed, except in connection with the enactment of measures which will better accomplish that important end. Believing that section six of the bill before me will weaken, if it does not altogether take away, the power of the National Government to protect the Federal elections by the civil authorities, I am forced to the conclusion that it ought not to receive my approval.

This section is, however, not presented to me as a separate and independent measure, but is, as has been stated, attached to the bill making the usual annual appropriations for the support of the Army. It makes a vital change in the election laws of the country, which is in no way connected with the use of the Army. It prohibits, under heavy penalties, any person engaged in the civil service of the United States from having any force at the place of any election pre-

pared to preserve order, to make arrests, to keep the peace, or in any manner to enforce the laws. This is altogether foreign to the purpose of an Army appropriation bill. The practice of tacking to appropriation bills measures not pertinent to such bills did not prevail until more than forty years after the adoption of the Constitution. It has become a common practice. All parties when in power have adopted it. Many abuses and great waste of public money have in this way crept into appropriation bills. The public opinion of the country is against it. The States which have recently adopted constitutions have generally provided a remedy for the evil by enacting that no law shall contain more than one subject, which shall be plainly expressed in its title. The constitutions of more than half of the States contain substantially this provision. The public welfare will be promoted in many ways by a return to the early practice of the Government, and to the true principle of legislation, which requires that every measure shall stand or fall according to its own merits. If it were understood that to attach to an appropriation bill a measure irrelevant to the general object of the bill would imperil and probably prevent its final passage and approval a valuable reform in the parliamentary practice of Congress would be accomplished. The best justification that has been offered for attaching irrelevant riders to appropriation bills is that it is done for convenience sake, to facilitate the passage of measures which are deemed expedient by all the branches of Government which participate in legislation. It cannot be claimed that there is any such reason for attaching this amendment of the election laws to the Army appropriation bill. The history of the measure contradicts this assumption. A majority of the House of Representatives in the last Congress was in favor of section six of this bill. It was known that a majority of the Senate was opposed to it, and that as a separate measure it could not be adopted. It was attached to the Army appropriation bill to compel the Senate to assent to it. It was plainly announced to the Senate that the Army appropriation bill would not be allowed to pass unless the proposed amendments of the election laws were adopted with it. The Senate refused to assent to the bill on account of this irrelevant section. Congress thereupon adjourned without passing an appropriation bill for the Army, and the present extra session of the Forty-sixth Congress became necessary to furnish the means to carry on the Government.

The ground upon which the action of the House of Representatives is defended has been distinctly stated by many of its advocates. A week before the close of the last session of Congress the doctrine in question was stated by one of its ablest defenders, as follows

> It is our duty to repeal these laws. It is not worth while to attempt the repeal except upon an appropriation bill. The Republican Senate would not agree to, nor the Republican President sign, a bill for such repeal. Whatever objection to legislation upon appropriation bills may be made in ordinary cases does not apply where free elections and the liberty of the citizens are concerned. * * * We have the power to vote money; let us annex conditions to it, and insist upon the redress of grievances.

By another distinguished member of the House it was said:

> The right of the Representatives of the people to withhold supplies is as old as English liberty. History records numerous instances where the Commons, feeling that the people were oppressed by laws that the Lords would not consent to repeal

by the ordinary methods of legislation, obtained redress at last by refusing appropriations unless accompanied by relief measures.

That a question of the gravest magnitude, and new in this country, was raised by this course of proceeding, was fully recognized also by its defenders in the Senate. It was said by a distinguished Senator:

Perhaps no greater question, in the form we are brought to consider it, was ever considered by the American Congress in time of peace; for it involves, not merely the merits or demerits of the laws which the House bill proposes to repeal, but involves the rights, the privileges, the powers, the duties of the two branches of Congress, and of the President of the United States. It is a vast question; it is a question whose importance can scarcely be estimated; it is a question that never yet has been brought so sharply before the American Congress and the American people as it may be now. It is a question which, sooner or later, must be decided, and the decision must determine what are the powers of the House of Representatives under the Constitution, and what is the duty of that House in the view of the framers of that Constitution according to its letter and its spirit.

Mr. President, I should approach this question, if I were in the best possible condition to speak and to argue it, with very grave diffidence, and certainly with the utmost anxiety, for no one can think of it as long and as carefully as I have thought of it without seeing that we are at the beginning, perhaps, of a struggle that may last as long in this country as a similar struggle lasted in what we are accustomed to call the mother land. There the struggle lasted for two centuries before it was ultimately decided. It is not likely to last so long here, but it may last until every man in this Chamber is in his grave. It is the question whether or no the House of Representatives has a right to say, 'We will grant supplies only upon condition that grievances are redressed. We are the representatives of the tax-payers of the republic; we, the House of Representatives, alone have the right to originate money bills; we, the House of Representatives, have alone the right to originate bills which grant the money of the people; the Senate represents States; we represent the tax-payers or the republic; we, therefore, by the very terms of the Constitution, are charged with the duty of originating the bills which grant the money of the people. We claim the right, which the House of Commons in England established after two centuries of contest, to say that we will not grant the money of the people unless there is a redress of grievances.

Upon the assembling of this Congress, in pursuance of a call for an extra session, which was made necessary by the failure of the Forty-fifth Congress to make the needful appropriations for the support of the Government, the question was presented whether the attempt made in the last Congress to engraft, by construction, a new principle upon the Constitution should be persisted in or not. This Congress has ample opportunity and time to pass the appropriation bills, and also to enact any political measures which may be determined upon in separate bills by the usual and orderly methods of proceeding. But the majority of both Houses have deemed it wise to adhere to the principles asserted and maintained in the last Congress by the majority of the House of Representatives. That principle is that the House of Representatives has the sole right to originate bills for raising revenue, and therefore has the right to withhold appropriations upon which the existence of the Government may depend, unless the Senate and the President shall give their assent to any legislation which the House may see fit to attach to appropriation bills. To establish this principle is to make a radical, dangerous, and unconstitutional change in the character of our institutions. The various departments of the Government, and the Army and the Navy, are established by the Constitution, or by laws passed in pursuance thereof. Their duties are clearly defined, and their support is carefully provided for by law. The

money required for this purpose has been collected from the people, and is now in the Treasury, ready to be paid out as soon as the appropriation bills are passed. Whether appropriations are made or not, the collection of the taxes will go on. The public money will accumulate in the Treasury. It was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that any single branch of the Government should have the power to dictate conditions upon which this treasure should be applied to the purpose for which it was collected. Any such intention, if it had been entertained, would have been plainly expressed in the Constitution.

That a majority of the Senate now concurs in the claim of the House adds to the gravity of the situation, but does not alter the question at issue. The new doctrine, if maintained, will result in a consolidation of unchecked and despotic power in the House of Representatives. A bare majority of the House will become the Government. The Executive will no longer be what the framers of the Constitution intended, an equal and independent branch of the Government. It is clearly the Constitutional duty of the President to exercise his discretion and judgment upon all bills presented to him without constraint or duress from any other branch of the Government. To say that a majority of either or both of the Houses of Congress may insist upon the approval of a bill under the penalty of stopping all of the operations of the Government for want of the necessary supplies, is to deny to the Executive that share of the legislative power which is plainly conferred by the second section of the seventh article of the Constitution. It strikes from the Constitution the qualified negative of the President. It is said that this should be done because it is the peculiar function of the House of Representatives to represent the will of the people. But no single branch or department of the Government has exclusive authority to speak for the American people. The most authentic and solemn expression of their will is contained in the Constitution of the United States. By that Constitution they have ordained and established a Government whose powers are distributed among co-ordinate branches, which, as far as possible, consistently with a harmonious co-operation, are absolutely independent of each other. The people of this country are unwilling to see the supremacy of the Constitution replaced by the omnipotence of any one department of the Government.

The enactment of this bill into a law will establish a precedent which will tend to destroy the equal independence of the several branches of the Government. Its principle places not merely the Senate and the Executive, but the Judiciary also, under the coercive dictation of the House. The House alone will be the judge of what constitutes a grievance, and also of the means and measures of redress. An act of Congress to protect elections is now the grievance complained of. But the House may, on the same principle, determine that any other act of Congress, a treaty made by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, a nomination or appointment to office, or that a decision or opinion of the Supreme Court is a grievance, and that the measure of redress is to withhold the appropriations required for the support of the offending branch of the Government.

Believing that this bill is a dangerous violation of the spirit and meaning of the Constitution, I am compelled to return it to the House, in which it originated, without my approval. The qualified negative with which the Constitution invests the President is a trust that involves a duty which he cannot decline to perform.

With a firm and conscientious purpose to do what I can to preserve, unimpaired, the constitutional powers and equal independence, not merely of the Executive, but of every branch of the Government, which will be imperiled by the adoption of the principle of this bill, I desire earnestly to urge upon the House of Representatives a return to the wise and wholesome usage of the earlier days of the Republic, which excluded from appropriation bills all irrelevant legislation. By this course you will inaugurate an important reform in the method of Congressional legislation; your action will be in harmony with the fundamental principles of the Constitution and the patriotic sentiment of nationality which is their firm support; and you will restore to the country that feeling of confidence and security and the repose which are so essential to the prosperity of all of our fellow citizens.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 29, 1879."

Now here is another, when the dying kick was given by the Rebel Brigadiers at the election laws. The Marshals are to be paid. Oh, yes; but not for any services rendered in preserving the sacredness of the ballot-box and the purity of elections.

"No man e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law."

"MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ASSIGNING OBJECTIONS TO THE APPROVAL OF THE BILL OF THE HOUSE (H. R. 2382) MAKING APPROPRIATION TO PAY FEES OF UNITED STATES MARSHALS AND THEIR GENERAL DEPUTIES.

JUNE 30, 1879.—Laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

To the House of Representatives:

I return to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, the bill entitled 'An act making appropriations to pay fees of United States marshals and their general deputies,' with the following objections to its becoming a law:

The bill appropriates the sum of $600,000 for the payment, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, of United States marshals and their general deputies. The offices thus provided for are essential to the faithful execution of the laws. They were created and their powers and duties defined by Congress at its first session after the adoption of the Constitution in the judiciary act, which was approved September 24, 1789. Their general duties, as defined in the act which originally established them, were substantially the same as those prescribed in the statutes now in force.

The principal provision on the subject in the Revised Statutes is as follows:

SEC. 787. It shall be the duty of the marshal of each district to attend the district and circuit courts, when sitting therein, and to execute throughout the district all lawful precepts directed to him, and issued under the authority of the United States; and he shall have power to command all necessary assistance in the execution of his duty.

The original act was amended February 28, 1795, and the amendment is now found in the Revised Statutes in the following form:

SEC. 788. The marshals and their deputies shall have in each State the same powers in executing the laws of the United States, as the sheriffs and their deputies in such State may have by law in executing the laws thereof.

By subsequent statutes, additional duties have been from time to time imposed upon the marshals and their deputies, the due and regular performance of which are required for the efficiency of almost every branch of the public service. Without these officers there would be no means of executing the warrants, decrees, or other process of the courts, and the judicial system of the country would be fatally defective. The criminal jurisdiction of the courts of the United States is very extensive. The crimes committed within the maritime jurisdiction of the United States are all cognizable only in the courts of the United States. Crimes against public justice; crimes against the operations of the Government, such as forging or counterfeiting the money or securities of the United States; crimes against the postal laws; offenses against the elective franchise, against the civil rights of citizens, against the existence of the Government; crimes against the internal revenue laws, the customs laws, the neutrality laws; crimes against laws for the protection of Indians, and of the public lands—all of these crimes, and many others, can be punished only under United States laws—laws which, taken together, constitute a body of jurisprudence, which is vital to the welfare of the whole country, and which can be enforced only by means of the marshals and deputy marshals of the United States. In the District of Columbia all of the process of the courts is executed by the officers in question. In short, the execution of the criminal laws of the United States, the service of all civil process in cases in which the United States is a party, and the execution of the revenue laws, the neutrality laws, and many other laws of large importance, depend on the maintenance of the marshals and their deputies. They are in effect the only police of the United States Government. Officers with corresponding powers and duties are found in every State of the Union, and in every country which has a jurisprudence which is worthy of the name. To deprive the National Government of these officers would be as disastrous to society as to abolish the sheriffs, constables, and police officers in the several States. It would be a denial to the United States of the right to execute its laws—a denial of all authority which requires the use of civil force. The law entitles these officers to be paid. The funds needed for the purpose have been collected from the people, and are now in the Treasury. No objection is therefore made to that part of the bill before me, which appropriates money for the support of the marshals and deputy marshals of the United States.

The bill contains, however, other provisions which are identical in tenor and effect with the second section of the bill entitled 'An act making appropriations for certain judicial expenses,' which, on the 23d of the present month, was returned to the House of Representatives with my objections to its approval. The provisions referred to are as follows:

SEC. 2. That the sums appropriated in this act for the persons and public service embraced in its provisions are in full for such persons and public service for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty, and no department or officers of the Government shall, during said fiscal year, make any contract or incur any liability for the future payment of money under any of the provisions of title twenty-six mentioned in section one of this act, until an appropriation sufficient to meet such contract or pay such liability shall have first been made by law.

Upon a reconsideration in the House of Representatives of the bill which contained these provisions, it lacked a constitutional majority, and therefore failed to become a law. In order to secure its enactment, the same measure is again pre-

sented for my approval, coupled in the bill before me with appropriations for the support of marshals and their deputies during the next fiscal year. The object, manifestly, is to place before the Executive this alternative: Either to allow necessary functions of the public service to be crippled or suspended for want of the appropriations required to keep them in operation, or to approve legislation which in official communications to Congress he has declared would be a violation of his constitutional duty. Thus in this bill the principle is clearly embodied that, by virtue of the provisions of the Constitution which requires that 'all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives,' a bare majority of the House of Representatives has the right to withhold appropriations for the support of the Government unless the Executive consents to approve any legislation which may be attached to appropriation bills. I respectfully refer to the communications on this subject which I have sent to Congress during its present session for a statement of the grounds of my conclusions, and desire here merely to repeat that, in my judgment, to establish the principle of this bill is to make a radical, dangerous, and unconstitutional change in the character of our institutions.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 30, 1879."

Comments would seem to be unnecessary upon these fraudulent and revolutionary purposes of the Democratic majority in Congress. Certainly none that I could make would be so apt and pertinent as these few words from Senator Roscoe Conkling, the real leader of the Republican Party in the United States. A man whom it gratifies me to feel assured the Republicans of the West now know as they never knew him before. His political, and I might add his personal, friends, are numbered to-day by millions in the Great Northwest, the seat of American Empire.

I give only an extract from Mr. Conkling's remarks in the Senate, on the 19th of June, 1879, on the Army Bill:

"Now, sir, one other word and I have done. What is this Army bill? It is a juggle, in my opinion a contemptible juggle and subterfuge. It is an attempt, by indirection, by stealth, by trick, by an act which is to operate as a fraud, to do that of which we had high-sounding proclamation at the end of the last session. It is to compel the Executive and to compel the minority to pay the democratic party of this country a price as the condition on which they will make appropriations and allow the Government to live. That is what it is.

On what did we in the minority stand at the beginning of this session? On two ideas and only two that I could ever comprehend. First, that no political party should be allowed to take the Government by the throat and say to it 'surrender, conditions and terms, to us, or the Government shall not exist;' and second, we stood upon the idea that the laws which our fathers made, which their children had preserved, which were to be found in the statute books, were just and wholesome laws, and that they should not be cloven down by any majority, and especially by such a majority coming into power by any such means as mark the history of majorities in the two Houses of Congress in the year 1879.

We went to war upon those two issues. We took the responsibility before the

country of confronting the democratic party on both of them. And now what? After twelve weeks of agitation, of anxiety, of disturbance in the country, after twelve weeks during which bill after bill originated in the democratic caucus has struck the rock of the Constitution and gone down where nothing but the hand of the resurrection will reach it, when the time has come that this majority dare not—dare not adjourn this session leaving the Government or the Army to languish or to starve, now when the whole battle has been fought, it is proposed, by trick, by artifice, by a juggle of words, to accomplish that which we have said and the nation has said these members and Senators, majority though they be, shall not accomplish.

They have put in one section of this bill that none of the money appropriated shall be used to maintain any part of the Army employed to keep the peace at the polls. I do not stop to talk about what is a 'police.' It is what astronomers would call point without magnitude. There is nothing in it but a cheat. The operative words are 'to keep the peace at the polls.' They have said no part of the money shall be used for that, and they have said in another bill what a statute that speaks to-day has said already, namely, that without the money appropriated, no contract shall be made, no obligation shall be incurred by which it can be done. Taking the two things together, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] said well to-day; he said well yesterday when he chose the word 'negation' to describe what his associates had done. The Senator from Indiana said yesterday, having been unable to accomplish the repeal of these laws, this bill was to accomplish their negation. That word is well chosen. 'Negation' means to say no, to deny, to paralyze, and it is for that that this sixth section was contrived. It was for that that men elsewhere were told and persuaded to believe that it was harmless for two reasons: first, because it said that troops should not be employed as a police, when for one hundred years in England, and always here, every lawyer has known and admitted that, except as a police, troops could not be used to enforce the laws at all—never until you get martial law as in Kentucky; and a great definer of words has said that martial law is the will of the commander. *Inter arma silent leges.* With martial law troops as troops may act, an army as an army; but, the civil law speaking, troops are to act in the enforcement of laws as an auxiliary to the police; and were the hour earlier, I would read repeated decisions from the highest authorities both in England and in this country, to show that the quality of the act, be the men soldiers or citizens, is identical, and the rights, the immunities, the liabilities are exactly the same in a given case, whether the *posse* be of the yeomanry and the citizen or the militia or the regular soldiers of the realm. But for that reason it was said that this was harmless, and for another, and what was that? Why there are no national elections this year, and no congressional elections known save in California, and one in the Westchester district in New York. True, true.

Mr. President, it has been said that the devil is subtle but weaves a coarse web, and this web, when you come to look at it, is course enough to be plainly discernible.

What is the purpose of these democrats? To induce as many republicans as possible in the House to vote for this bill with the sixth section; if possible to get republican votes for it here; but whether so or not, if possible to secure the executive signature. Then what? Next December the same majority is to be

here, the same majority in the House, the same occupant of the executive chair; and when the same words for the fiscal year ending June 30. 1881, have been incorporated in the Army appropriation bill, the President who signs it this year must sign it next; and thus for the year when all the elections in all the States for members of Congress and the Presidential election, too, are to take place, the polls are to be naked to the State troops, the rifle clubs, the white-leaugers, the night-riders, and the demons who invest the Southern States, and they are to be exposed to all the thugs, the ruffians, and the mobs to be found in all the cities of the land.

That is this programme. That is what this majority means. That is what we mean to resist; that is what we mean to debate; and because we sought the privilege of uncovering this wrong, uncovering this act which in effect is to be a fraud if it succeeds, because we would debate it and expose it, we have been driven to that which Senators have been pleased to call filibustering. Mr. President, call it what you will, for one I claim my part of the responsibilty; for one I will take it as often upon a measure only half as iniquitous and monstrous as this is, I will take it as often as even half such a measure comes here and an attempt is made either by stealth to manage it through or by the brute force of numbers to gag it through the Senate.

So, Mr. President, I think with only these few moments for reflection, that I do not agree with the Senator from Delaware. I am quite content the RECORD should go out. I would be glad to have to-morrow's RECORD go containing what the Senator from Wisconsin, if he speaks like the lawyer he is, will say, what a pitiful attempt by introducing the word 'police' to cheat and defraud the American people. I will vote for extra numbers of to-day's RECORD and to-morrow's RECORD.

So much, Mr President, without having had the slightest purpose to do so or to say anything, I have been moved to say by the coaxing invitation of the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. LAMAR—Mr. President, I desire to make one statement personal to myself in reference to this matter. I do not intend to go into the discussion of the question concerning this measure that the Senator from New York has been discussing. I learn for the first time that an impression exists on the mind of any Senator on this floor that further time was to be extended for the discussion of the bill which the Senator from Virginia reported, based upon any proceedings or upon any occurrence connected with the measure that I had the honor of reporting this morning and asked unanimous consent to consider and have passed. I am not aware of anything that occurred which would produce such an impression. If I had, although I would not have been instrumental consciously in producing such an impression, I should have felt myself bound by it and would have made the motion myself for an adjournment, in order to give the Senator from Wisconsin an opportunity to discuss this bill.

I repeat, sir, that if I had imagined that any Senator had any such expectation from anything that occurred in the incidents of that proceeding, it would have been my pleasure to have made that motion. In fact, sir, I was not here. I was not aware of the fact that the Senator from Wisconsin had risen for the purpose of addressing the Senate. I came in at a later stage of these proceedings.

With reference to the charge of bad faith that the Senator from New York has

intimated toward those of us who have been engaged in opposing these motions to adjourn, I have only to say that if I am not superior to such attacks from such a source, I have lived in vain. It is not my habit to indulge in personalities; but I desire to say here to the Senator that in intimating anything inconsistent, as he has done, with perfect good faith, I pronounce his statement a falsehood, which I repel with all the unmitigated contempt that I feel for the author of it.

Mr. CONKLING—Mr. President, I was diverted during the commencement of a remark the culmination of which I heard from the member from Mississippi. If I understood him aright' he intended to impute, and did in plain and unparliamentary language impute to me an intentional misstatement. The Senator does not disclaim that.

Mr. LAMAR—I will state what I intended, so that there may be no mistake——

The PRESIDING OFFICER—Does the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. LAMAR—All that I——

The PRESIDING OFFICER—Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. LAMAR—He appealed to me to know, and I will give——

The PRESIDING OFFICER—The Senator from New York has the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. LAMAR—But the Senator declines to yield to me to know——

The PRESIDING OFFICER—The Senator from New York has the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. CONKLING—And I am willing to respond to the Chair. I shall respond to the Chair in due time. Whether I am willing to respond to the member from Mississippi depends entirely upon what that member intends to say, and what he did say. For the time being, I do not choose to hold any communication with him. The Chair understands me now; I will proceed.

I understand the Senator from Mississippi to state in plain and unparliamentary language that the statement of mine to which he referred was a falsehood, if I caught his word aright. Mr. President this not being the place to measure with any man the capacity to violate decency, to violate the rules of the Senate, or to commit any of the improprieties of life, I have only to say that if the Senator,—the member from Mississippi, did impute or intended to impute to me a falsehood, nothing except the fact that this is the Senate would prevent my denouncing him as a blackguard and a coward. [Applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER—There shall be no cheering in the galleries. If there should be any more, the Chair will order the galleries to be cleared. The Senator from New York will proceed.

Mr. CONKLING—Let me be more specific, Mr. President. Should the member from Mississippi, except in the presence of the Senate, charge me, by intimation or otherwise, with falsehood, I would denounce him as a blackguard, as a coward and a liar; and understanding what he said as I have, the rules and the proprieties of the Senate are the only restraint upon me.

I do not think I need to say anything else Mr. President.

Mr. LAMAR—Mr. President, I have only to say that the Senator from New York understood me correctly. I did mean to say just precisely the words, and all that they imported. I beg pardon of the Senate for the unparliamentary language. It was very harsh; it was very severe; it was such as no good man would deserve and no brave man would wear. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]"

PART II.

Specie Payment.—Resumption.—The position of the Democratic and Republican Parties on the Question.

I cannot so well present the policy and practice of the Republican party on this, one of the questions of first importance to the whole country, to the Southern man and the Northern man, to the laborer and the capitalist, to the man of commerce, and the man of trade, in any other way than by giving extracts from the great speech of Secretary Sherman, delivered at Portland, Maine, on the 23d of July, 1879.

I quote from the *New York Times* of the 24th of that month, where the speech will be found in full:

THE RESUMPTION ACT.

"In January, 1875, and during the second session of Congress—18 months after the panic—the measure known as the Resumption Act was adopted by a majority of both branches and approved by the President. This was a Republican measure, for, though many Democrats favored resumption, yet party discipline, and the hope of party advantage, induced everyone of them to vote against the Resumption Act. This measure was a very simple one, containing but two propositions—one was that silver coin should be gradually issued for the redemption of fractional currency, and the other was that on Jan. 1, 1879, the national Treasury should redeem, in coin, any United States notes that were presented. This act was not to take effect, in its material provision, until four years from the date of its passage. Steps were taken by Secretuary Bristow, and your distinguished townsman, Secretary Morrill, for the gradual replacement of fractional currency by silver coin, but until the spring of 1877 no material preparation was, or could well have been, made for the redemption of United States notes, which continued to be depreciated, being worth only 89 to 94 cent in coin. A wide-spread feeling prevailed that resumption was impossible, that it would not bring better times, and the country continued to suffer the tortures of the panic of 1873. During the whole of 1876 and 1877 the Resumption Act was made the subject of denunciation. The absurd notion was put forward that it was the cause of the hard times, though no material action had been taken under it, and the hard times came 18 months before the Resumption Act passed. All sorts of prophecies were made of its failure. We were told that the Resumption Act was a sham; that it was a hindrance to resumption; that the attempt to accumulate coin would put up its price; that it would be worth $50,000 to be on the right of the line on the day of resumption; that resumption was impossible; that it would prostrate industry; that it would stop the sale of bonds; that it would raise the rate of interest for the benefit of the bondholders, Shylocks, and capitalists. The Democratic party, in its platform adopted in St. Louis in 1876, while pretending to be for resumption, denounced the Republican party because it had made no preparation for it,

but, instead, had obstructed it by wasting our resources and exhausting all surplus income; and, because, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, it had annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. It denounced the Resumption Act of 1875 as such a hindrance, and demanded its repeal. Mr. Ewing, of Ohio, and Mr. Voorhees, of Indiana, with others, made a minority report, in which they declared that the law for the resumption of specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879, having been enacted by the Republican party without deliberation in Congress or discussion before the people, and being so inadequate to secure its object, was highly injurious to the business of the country, and ought to be forthwith repealed. Mr. Tilden, in his letter of acceptance, indorsed this doctrine, and, at the same time, declared himself for a speedy return to specie payments, saying:—'The Government ought not to speculate on its own dishonor in order to save interest on its broken promises, which it still compels private dealers to accept at a fictitious par.' I might quote for days the warnings and evil prophecies of our Democratic and Greenback friends, but they have been so recently made that it is scarcely necessary. On the other hand, the supporters of this measure insisted that resumption was not only possible but easy; that the accumulation of coin would lower its price, improve the public credit, increase the sale of 4 per cent. bonds; and that when the fund should be sufficient to inspire confidence in the ability to resume, resumption would be a tranquil and easy passage, the sure forerunner of hopeful prosperity. They also believe that it would lessen the burden of the public debt, and lower the rate of interest not only to the public but to private individuals.

RESUMPTION SUCCEEDS.

Let us now examine which of these opposing opinions has been proved to be true by the test of experience. The success of resumption depended entirely upon the ability of the United States, by the time fixed, to accumulate in the Treasury an amount of coin sufficient to meet any demands likely to be made upon it. This coin could only be obtained by surplus revenue, or by the sale of United States bonds, full authority for which was given by the Resumption Act. In April 1877, it was announced by the Administration that from the 1st of May the Treasury Department would accumulate coin at the rate of $5,000,000 a month, and, accordingly, that sum was set aside from the sale of 4½ per cent. bonds, up to the 1st of July. The very announcement of the purpose to resume, with a definite plan of resumption, at once had a reviving effect upon the public credit, increasing the sale of 4½ per cent. bonds. This induced the Treasury Department, on the 23d of May, 1877, to withdraw the 4½ per cent. bonds, and on the 9th of June, 1877, to place the 4 per cents. upon the market, to be sold at par in coin, both for refunding and resumption purposes. This was a critical experiment, the expediency of which was gravely doubted by many friends of resumption, but it proved a perfect success. This course was pursued until November, the price of coin constantly declining and confidence steadily improving, when Congress met, and a bill speedily passed the House of Representatives to repeal the Resumption Act. This and other proposed measures affected seriously the public credit, and stopped the sale of bonds as with a clamp. An examination of financial problems by the committees of both houses, and the debates in Congress, caused the Senate to refuse to pass the bill for the repeal of the Resumption Act, and finally pre-

vented the passage of any bill that would cripple that act, and left the Executive authority to pursue its duty as prescribed therein. On April 11, 1878, the department was again able to resume its policy of purchasing coin by the sale of 4½ per cent. bonds, and shortly afterward to commence the sale of 4 per cents. for refunding purposes, and this policy was steadily pursued to the end. During the process coin constantly declined, and the sale of 4 per cent. bonds steadily increased. In 1878 we sold $50,000,000 4½ per cent. bonds at a premium of 1½ per cent., and $128,685,450 4 per cent. bonds at par. Ninety million dollars of the proceeds of bonds sold in 1877 and 1878 were held in coin as a part of the resumption fund, and the balance was applied to the payment of the 6 per cent. 5-20 bonds. At the end of the year 1878, and before Congress had convened, we had thus accumulated, including surplus revenue, a coin reserve of $138,000,000. Resumption had practically come one month before the day fixed by law, as quietly and tranquilly as a vessel would float from the river into the ocean. So complete was the success of resumption that all the notes presented for redemption since the 1st of January, and prior to the 1st of July, amount to $7,976,698, while gold coin has been freely deposited in the Treasury in exchange for United States notes. The total amount of gold coin and bullion in the Treasury on the 2d day of January, 1879, was $135,382,639 42. On the first day of this month the amount of such coin and bullion was $135,436,474 62, and the amount of silver dollars has increased from $16,697,338 in January, to $28,147,351 July 1. No assistance whatever was extended by Congress in aid of resumption. On the contrary, it increased the minimum of the United States notes upon which resumption was to be maintained from $300,000,000 to $346,681,016. It recently required the redemption of fractional coin as well as United States notes. By pending measures of the most dangerous character, and by continual agitation, it greatly disturbed the public credit, and made the task of the department much more difficult and its means much less. It reduced the revenue from taxes on tobacco to the extent of $8,000,000 or $9,000,000 annually. It largely increased the aggregate of appropriations. While Congress reduced the revenues and increased appropriations, it neither levied new taxes nor gave authority to borrow money to meet these extraordinary demands, but used the sinking fund, which was specifically set aside by law for the reduction of the public debt, thus arresting the established policy of the Republican party of yearly reducing the debt."

After showing in the clearest manner the profits of resumption, by the refunding of our 6 and 5 per cent. bonds into 4 per cent., he says, with just pride:

"I can say, without fear of contradiction, that no nation ever negotiated its loans at a less cost or on as favorable terms. The sales of the famous 3 per cent., consols of England, when made, were on far less advantageous terms than the United States was able to secure after accomplishing resumption."

And proceeds thus as to its effect on trade and commerce:

"The resumption of specie payments has had the same beneficial effect upon the business of private citizens. The reduction of interest on the public debt has made it possible to reduce the rate on all debts, whether State, corporation, or

private. Private debts are now being rapidly reduced from 10 to 8, and even to 6 per cent. The State of New York has, by law, reduced the rate of interest in that State from 7 to 6 per cent. The City of Providence sold 4½ per cent. bonds at above par. The State of Pennsylvania sold $2,000,000 4 per cent. bonds at above par. The City of New York sold 5 per cent. bridge bonds at 105.76. Five million dollars of Denver and Rio Grande Railway Company 7 per cent. bonds were subscribed in two hours—the first time for years that money has been pledged for building a railroad. All securities have advanced since January 1, at the average rate of 10 per cent. Mortgages at from 8 to 10 per cent. are daily being reduced to from 6 to 8 per cent. Capital is again seeking investment in any safe securities that offer. With the first decided preparation for resumption there came slowly a revival of business; with the success of resumption, that revival is marked in nearly every branch of industry. The increase of our exports of domestic merchandise, since the period of the panic, is without example in our history. In the year ending June 30, 1873, the amount of our exports was $505,033 439 in the year ending June 1, 1879, the amount of our exports was $699,618,933. In the five years preceding the panic our exports were $2,013,702,648, and during the past five years they were $2,999,197,652. The net imports of merchandise decreased from $624,687,727 during the year 1873, to $422,895,034 in 1878, or 32 per cent.; whereas the value of our exports of merchandise, representing mainly our agricultural and manufacturing products, increased from $505,033,439 in 1873, to $680,709,268 in 1878, or 35 per cent. It may be stated generally that the internal commerce of the country shows a gradual increase of traffic since 1873—the improvement during the last year having been more rapid than during any preceding year since 1873. The tonnage of the great railroads from the East to the West, the most important highways of commerce in this country, shows an increase since 1873 of 37½ per cent. The production of wheat and corn, the two leading cereal products of the country, which constitute the principal part of our exports of breadstuffs, indicates during last year a large increase over the production of 1873. The production of corn in 1873 was 932,000,000 bushels; in 1878, about 1,360,000,000 bushels. Production of wheat in 1873, 281,000,000 bushels in 1878, about 425,000,000 bushels. The cotton crop of the United States during the year 1878, was larger than any previous crop in the history of the country. Our exports of cotton increased from 1,200,000,000 pounds in 1873, to 1,608,000,000 pounds in 1878. The quantity of wool produced increased from 158,000,000 pounds in 1873, to 207,000,000 in 1878. The total amount which went into consumption, including domestic production and imports, representing the manufacture of woolen goods in the United States, increased from 136,000,000 pounds in 1873, to 249,000,000 pounds in 1878. Even our shipping interests, engaged in foreign trade—the industry most depressed—show some signs of hopefulness. Ships and barks are the classes of sailing-vessels principally employed in foreign trade. The average number of vessels of these two classes built during each of the years 1847 to 1858 inclusive, was 248, but during the year 1871 the number was only 40; in 1872, only 15; and in 1873, only 28. Since that time, however, there has been a considerable improvement, the average number built during each of the last five years being a little more than 82. The total tonnage of American vessels engaged in foreign traffic, which as I have already stated, fell from 2,379,396 tons in 1860, to 1,378,533 tons in 1873, has

since that time increased to 1,589,348 tons in 1878. I am not foolish enough to attribute all these signs to the act of resumption. No doubt it is largely due to the habits of thrift, economy, and industry which necessarily followed the depression of business, largely to the migration of people thrown out of employment who have found homes in the West, but mainly to the recuperative energies of a vigorous industrious, and active people. What I wish to prove is that resumption, the restoration of our currency to the coin standard, contributed to these beneficial results, and it belied all the false prophecies made as to its effect."

After a most merciless but deserved exposure of the greenback fallacies, Mr. Sherman eloquently concludes with this brilliant resume of the record and aims of the Republican party:

It is to support such dogmas, my Republican friends, that we are invited to desert the great party to which we belong. It may be that the Republican party has made in the last 20 years some mistakes. It may not always have come up to your aspirations. Sometimes power may have been abused. To err is human; but where it has erred it has always been on the side of liberty and justice. It led our country in the great struggle for union and nationality, which more than all else tended to make it great and powerful. It has always taken side with the poor and feeble. It emancipated a whole race, and has invested them with liberty and all the rights of citizenship. It never robbed the ballot-box. It has never deprived any class of people, for any cause, of the elective franchise. It maintains the supremacy of the National Government on all national affairs, while observing and protecting the rights of the States. It has tried to secure the equality of all citizens before the law. It opposes all distinctions among men, whether white or black, native or naturalized. It invites them all to partake of equal privileges, and secures them an equal chance in life. It has secured, for the first time in our history, the rights of a naturalized citizen to protection against claims of military duty to his native country. It prescribes no religious test. While it respects religion for its beneficial influence upon civil society, it recognizes the right of each individual to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without prejudice or interference. It supports free common schools as the basis of republican institutions. It has done more than any party that ever existed to provide lands for the landless. It devised and enacted the Homestead law, and has constantly extended this policy, so that all citizens, native and naturalized, may enjoy, without cost, limited portions of the public land. It protects American labor. It is in favor of American industry. It seeks to diversify productions. It has steadily pursued, as an object of national importance, the development of our commerce on inland waters and on the high seas. It has protected our flag on every sea; not the stars and bars, not the flag of a State, but the Stars and Stripes of the Union. It seeks to establish in this Republic of ours a great, strong, free Government of free men. It would, with frankness and sincerity, without malice or hate, extend the right hand of fellowship and fraternity to those who lately were at war with us, aid them in making fruitful their waste places and in developing their immense resources, if only they would allow the poor and ignorant men among them the benefits conferred by the Constitution and the laws. No hand of oppression rests upon them. No bayonet points to them except in their political imaginings. We would gladly fraternize with them if

they would allow us, and have but one creed—the Constitution and laws of our country to be executed and enforced by our country, and for the equal benefit of all our countrymen. If they will not accept this, but will keep up sectionalism, maintain the solid South upon the basis of the principles of the Confederate States, we must prepare to stand together as the loyal North, true to the Union, true to liberty, and faithful to every national obligation. I appeal to every man who ever, at any time, belonged to the Republican party, to every man who supported his country in its time of danger, to every lover of liberty regulated by law, and every intelligent Democrat who can see with us the evil tendencies of the dogmas I have commented upon, to join us in reforming all that is evil, all the abuses of the past, and in developing the principles and policies which in 20 years have done so much to strengthen our Government, to consolidate our institutions, and to excite the respect and admiration of mankind."

Notwithstanding the now palpable benefits resulting from resumption, so plain that the child who runs may not only read, but see and feel them, the bill itself, opposed by the Democratic party, from Ohio to Maine, and from New York to New Orleans, in every stage of its passage, still encounters the opposition of that party, and every impartial, just and honest man, no matter what his politics, must admit that whatever of general prosperity has resulted from this upright, and, as it has now turned out, wise measure, is fairly due to the honest and patriotic efforts of the Republican party. Even if these happy results of the measure had not been, as it is true they were not, foreseen, it was due to the credit and honor of the nation as a measure of justice that we should redeem our promises. Promises which brought us credit in the hour of our sorest trial, and enabled us to save the nation that is the hope of the world. "Justice," said Sir James McIntosh, "is the first policy of nations, and any eminent departure from it lies under the imputation of being no policy at all."

The Republican party in both branches of Congress, and notably in the House of Representatives, under the lead of General Garfield, recognizing this great axiom, have successfully resisted the unremitting efforts of the Democrats to repeal that act, and, thanks to their firmness, patriotism and self-denial, specie payment in the United States is now a fixed fact, and the credit of the Republic, at home and abroad, is equal to any and better than most countries in the world.

I append here some extracts taken at random from the *Record*, but sufficient to show the bent and status of the parties on the question.

This from the *Congressional Record* of the 23d of April, 1878:

"RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS.

Mr. Voorhees.—Mr. President, on the 17th of this month the Senator from Michigan (Mr. Ferry) reported back, from the Committee on Finance, House bill 805, known as a bill for the repeal of the specie resumption act of January 14, 1875, with an amendment striking out all after the enacting clause and inserting certain important provisions in lieu of the original measure as it came from the

House. I propose now to amend that amendment in certain particulars, and I ask that the amendments of which I give notice be read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*.—The Senator from Indiana gives notice that he will offer certain amendments, which will be read.

The CHIEF CLERK.—It is proposed to strike out in lines 5, 6, and 7, the words 'on and after October 1, 1878, said notes shall be receivable;' strike out in lines 8 and 9 the words 'October 1, 1878,' and insert in lieu thereof the following words 'the passage of this act;' strike out in line 9 the word 'permanently;' also strike out in lines 22, 23, and 24, the words 'shall cease and become inoperative on and after the said October 1, 1878,' and insert in lieu thereof the following words 'is hereby repealed,' so that the substitute reported by way of amendment by the Committee on Finance shall read as follows:

That from and after the passage of this act United States notes shall be receivable in payment for the 4 per cent. bonds now authorized by law to be issued, and for duties on imports, and said notes in the volume in existance on the passage of this act shall not be canceled nor horded, but shall be reissued, and they may be used for funding, and all other lawful purposes whatsoever, to an amount not exceeding in the whole the aggregate amount thereof then in circulation and in the Treasury; and the said notes, whether then in the Treasury or thereafter received, under any act of Congress, and from whatever source, shall be again paid out; and when again returned to the Treasury they shall not be canceled nor destroyed, but shall be reissued from time to time with like qualities; and all that part of the act of January 14, 1875, entitled; 'An act to provide for the resumption of specie payments,' authorizing the retirement of 80 per cent. of United States notes, is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. All laws and parts of laws inconsistent with this act shall be, and hereby are, repealed.

MR. VOORHEES.—I ask that the amendments just read and the substitute offered by the committee as now sought to be amended be printed and lie upon the table.

I desire further to state that I have offered these amendments not as the basis of a compromise for the surrender of the House bill, but for the purpose of improving, as far as possible, the substitute reported by the committee. If that substitute should be adopted by the Senate I desire to bring substantial and immediate relief to the people as far as it goes. It is my purpose, however, to support the bill for the repeal of the act enforcing the resumption of specie payments, just as it passed the House on the 23d day of November last. On this issue I shall seek to obtain the direct vote of the Senate at an early day.

MR. GORDON.—I hope the amendments suggested by the Senator from Indiana will be printed.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*.—That has been ordered under the rule.

MR. GORDON.—While I am up I move that the report of the committee to which the Senator from Indiana has referred, and to which the amendments relate, be made the special order for Wednesday, the 1st day of May, that is, Wednesday a week. I will state that I did not speak upon the silver bill, because I desire a subject of a little wider range than that bill legitimately furnished, and I wish to speak upon this bill. I move, therefore, that it be made the special order for Wednesday, the 1st day of May. I think that would give abundant time for any amendments to be suggested and considered by the Senate."

Of this continued attempt to repeal the Resumption Act, and in every possible way bring the nation into discredit, and ultimately

to absolute ruin, Voorheess the most illogical, and Gen. Tom Ewing, of Ohio, by all odds the clearest thinker and finest orator and debater of the party in the House of Representatives, have been the special champions, while an examination of the *Congressional Record* will show that no one of the many distinguished and earnest supporters of the nation's honor and credit have been more fearless, earnest and effective than *General James A. Garfield*, the glorious and gallant standard bearer of the Republican party in this year of Republican triumph, 1880.

Here is the position of the Republican party as given by Senator Morrill of Vermont, one of the acknowledged authorities of the Senate on financial questions, in a speech of the 20th of May, 1878 :

"Contraction of paper money hitherto has been almost wholly imaginary and will surely have lost its terrors when contraction, real or fanciful, wholly disappears in expansion, especially when it shall be seen that all the dykes are broken down, and both gold and silver, long pent up, find no unrestricted outlet to fertilize every part of our country. When the resumption act passed in 1875, it might have been pardonable to doubt its propriety, for $1 then in gold brought $1.12½ in currency; but now $1 in gold brings less than a half per cent. premium. Resumption is made easy and its wisdom is fully vindicated. The national banks are ready to co-operate. Business men hail it with acclamation and will joyfully contribute to its success. When it costs little or nothing to exchange paper for coin, and when no importer complains of the hardship of obtaining it, no one else should complain that coin is a necessity at the custom-house. With banking *free*, bringing forth one hundred cents for every eighty cents of legal-tenders surrendered, giving out fifty millions in exchange for forty, the wants of trade are in no danger of suffering from a lack of currency. It is also proposed to take greenbacks for 4 per cent. bonds. If we can thus refund our national debt at a lower rate, who will be angry, and why should it not be done? By this process we are likely to save more interest than will be paid out on the fifty million gold loan.

These are some of the substantial points upon which, as it appears to me, all might now come together in perfect accord. There is little left to wrangle about or that can fret even a sore imagination, and that little we should try to diminish. Our exports so far exceed our imports that exchanges are certainly not against us, and both the gold and silver bullion from the Pacific seem determined not to leave our shores. The old nest of financial disputes has had its eggs washed away by passing events, and it was only the silly setting goose that when the flood came vainly paddled over and above the submerged site of the empty nest after the eggs had all been swept away. Let us hail resumption, now imminent, as an event, however brought about, that may quicken the pulse of the nation and start us once more on the highways of national prosperity.

But the objections to the substitute are that it brings forth several regretable points which may prove detrimental, or turn out to be possible hinderances, to practical resumption, and which are certainly incompatible with a strict observance of the public faith solemnly pledged in our own statutes now in force, and from their very nature irrepealable. What we are about to enact may stand as a permanent law, not merely on the 1st day of October next, or even on the 1st of Jan-

uary, but for all coming time until modified or repealed. To say, as the substitute does say, that greenbacks '*shall* be received for duties on imports,' giving no option, would compel the Government to receive them under whatever change of circumstances, however great the inconvenience, and might deprive us of the coin absolutely required to meet lawful engagements. Moreover, the opinion is based upon the idea of a blindfold jump to resumption, or upon the free delivery of coin for all notes presented, and then to get the coin afterwards. It is a reversal of all sound husbandry. To me it appears rashly imprudent to leap into any position where, by any possibility, we might be forced to receive nothing but paper and pay out nothing but coin. It affords an exhausted Treasury no chance to recuperate. If the time was postponed for such an experiment to the first of January, 1879, it would not look so bad on its face, for then it is expected that we shall pay coin for greenbacks, and to that extent treat them as of equal value; but even then the permanent safety of the Government would require that only permission should be granted that legal tenders *may be received for duties on imports.* It should not be compulsory. This was never contemplated as even a possible function of the legal tender notes; and on the back of every such note may be read the printed exception that it is not to be a legal tender for 'duties on imports and interest on the public debt.' Every note issued bears this protest against any such use, and it will be ever squarely in the face of every holder.

There is, however, another and more insuperable objection to this proposal: that it is not only a clear and open violation of the law (section 3473), which provides that '*all* duties on imports shall be paid in gold and silver coin *only*,' but conspicuously so of section 3693 and 3694, of the Revised Statutes, where we may read as follows:

The faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes, and of all the interest bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver.

The coin paid for duties on imported goods shall be set apart as a special fund and shall be applied as follows:

First. To the payment in coin of the interest on the bonds and notes of the United States.

These acts, perhaps the most memorable in our statutes, were passed by the Senate and House of Representatives, and approved by the President of the United States; and shall the Senate, uninvited by any overwhelming emergency, be the first and foremost to disregard and renounce such a pledge? This solemnly recorded pledge was made to give a higher credit to the national loans we were then contracting. Can we withdraw it at our own will and pleasure without beclouding our national reputation? Of course I feel that it cannot be intended, by those who favor this provision, to wrong any party who has trusted our fidelity to laws of our own making—the coin will somehow be obtained for all creditors—but in no cheaper or more legitimate mode; and by its adoption we shall have inflicted an irreparable wrong upon ourselves."

* * * * * * * * *

"Resumption is a measure apart from the interests of the bondholders—apart from the interests of gold-brokers—and looks solely to giving a more absolute and unchanging value to the money which passes from hand to hand, and which the

workingmen of our country are compelled to receive for their constant toil. It is good money for the people as well as for the bondholders.

This is our common country, in whose prosperity we all have an equal and abiding share. It cannot be for the interest of any man, however exalted or however humble, nor of any party, large or small, and however sharp and immovable its political boundaries, to labor for the defeat of an honest effort to promote the public welfare, which will place our financial affairs in the sound condition contemplated by the founders of our republican institutions; that condition which has so largely contributed to the growth of the American people, with only limited interruptions, throughout its career of a hundred years, and which every civilized or half-civilized nation aims at and would be proud to enjoy. To defeat a return to specie payments now, either by assault or by ill-directed attempts to hasten its coming, when we are on the brink of fruition, would throw a fearful responsibility upon those who should by any act of omission or commission become identified with the inglorious fact. The dearly bought financial experience of recent years cannot be forgotten, and no sane man can wish to have it repeated or prolonged. Fictitious money, crop-eared and always at a discount, is not less productive of bankruptcy in morals than in business; and, wherever absolute verity does not prevail in the money current, the contagious doctrine of retaliatory or compensatory frauds is likely to be speedily engendered and widely disseminated."

And here is what the President of the United States, in his annual message of December, 1879, more than a year after Senator Morrill spoke, and when the resumption act had had a trial of a year less one month:

'THE PUBLIC FINANCES.

The attention of Congress is called to the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the condition of the public finances. The ordinary revenues from all sources for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1879, were $273,827,184.46. The ordinary expenditures for the same period were $266,947,083.53, leaving a surplus revenue for the year of $6,879,300.93. The receipts for the present fiscal year, ending June 30, 1880, actual and estimated, are as follows: Actual receipts for the first quarter, commencing July 1, 1879, $79,843,663.61; estimated receipts for the remaining three-quarters of the year, $208,156,336.39. Total receipts for the current fiscal year, actual and estimated, $288,000,000. The expenditures for the same period will be, actual and estimated, as follows: For the quarter commencing July 1, 1878, actual expenditures, $91,683,385.10; and for the remaining three quarters of the year, the expenditures are estimated at $172,316,614.90, making the total expenditures $264,000,000, and leaving an estimated surplus revenue for the year ending June 30, 1880, of $24,000,000.

The total receipts during the next fiscal year, ending June 30, 1881, estimated according to existing laws, will be $288,000,000, and the estimated ordinary expenditures for the same period will be $278,097,364.39, leaving a surplus of $9,902,635.61 for that year. The large amount expended for arrears of pensions during the last and the present fiscal year, amounting to $21,747,249.60, has prevented the application of the full amount required by law to the sinking fund for the current year, but these arrears having been substantially paid, it is believed that the sinking fund can hereafter be maintained without any change of existing law."

As to the much abused National banks, Mr. Sherman, in his Cooper Union speech in New York, on the 27th day of October last, says:

"In the progress toward specie payments two financial questions have arisen, upon which it may be proper for me to make a few remarks, for both of them will enter largely into our political discussions. One is the proposed abolition of the National banks, and the other is the free coinage of silver dollars.

I feel bound to say that the system of National banks, adopted by the Republican party, has proved a most important aid and agency in the business of the country, the advance of its credits, and in the refunding of the public debt. This admirable system of banking, designed to supercede State banks, has realized all the hopes of its authors. Its notes are now redeemable daily at the Treasury in coin, or notes equal to coin. They are of universal circulation throughout the United States, secured beyond all peradventure against loss or failure or counterfeiting, and the amount can be varied to meet the varying wants of business. The system is free as any other occupation or employment in life. [Applause.]

It has been quite the fashion of the Democratic party to attack this system because it is supposed that any moneyed institution is subject to popular outcry. It has been proposed by the Democratic party that this system shall be superceded by a new issue of United States notes, in violation of the law of 1864, and the whole basis upon which this measure is proposed is that it will save the people of the United States the interest on the circulating notes so issued.

Even on the narrow ground of interest, such a measure would be an immediate loss, for the taxes levied upon the banks by State and National authority are now greater by several millions than the entire interest at 4 per cent. on all the bank notes in circulation. The destruction of the banks would be the loss of this tax. The United States bonds, deposited as security for the notes, are now in effect taxable as capital stock of the bank, but would not be taxable in the hands of private parties; and thus, by the destruction of the banks, nearly all the capital employed in them would assume a form, in the hands of private parties, beyond the reach of taxation. In this city alone the taxes on National banks amount to $2,832,981,49, while 4 per cent. interest on their circulating notes is $893,144.96. Abolish the banks and the $25,745,500 of United States bonds held by them and forming the body of their capital stock now taxable will cease to be taxable, whether held by private persons or corporations. This deficit in your taxes would have to be made up by taxes on other property.

But this argument of profit and loss is the least of several objections to the abolition of National banks. They are interwoven with all the commercial business of the country, and their loans and discounts form our most active and useful capital, and the collection of which would create the most wide-reaching distress. Again, the abolition of the National banks would inevitably lead to the incorporation of State banks, especially in bankrupt States, where any expedient to make paper money cheap will be quickly resorted to, and thus we will encounter again all the innumerable difficulties of exchange and business which existed before the war under the system of State banks. Again, it will open the question of the repeal of the provisions of the loan laws fixing a limit to the amount of United States notes, and thus will shock the public credit and raise new questions of authority, which the Supreme Court would probably declare to be unconstitutional.

Free banking open to all, with prompt and easy redemption, supplies a currency to meet the varying wants of different periods and seasons. Who would risk such a question to the changing votes of Congress? I will not disparage your intelligence by the discussion of propositions gravely made during this canvass, that seem to me to border on lunacy. They were all based upon the claim that Congress had the power to, and ought to, issue paper money without regard to the limits fixed by law, without regard to redemption, and based entirely upon what they call the want of business. With a high opinion of the general intelligence of Congress, I do not believe they have such a power, nor ought it to be conferred upon them. The present volume of United States notes was issued during the war, and their issue and reissue has been upheld by the Supreme Court. We have had a weary struggle to bring them to the standard of coin. There let us rest. I, for one, am in favor of maintaining them in circulation, supported by an ample reserve in coin, but am equally in favor of allowing all other paper money to be issued by corporations under a law free and open to all, so that the business of banking will be like any other business of private life. If experience shows that the existing law is subject to abuse, then Congress can readily, by general law, restrain them, even to the extent of a tax equal to any portion of the interest on the bonds held as security for their circulating notes. But the general principles of the system of National banks cannot be greatly improved. They fill the commercial want of furnishing a safe, uniform, convenient currency, unrivalled in excellenee by any banking system heretofore devised. [Applause.]

Again, my fellow citizens, by an act passed in 1864, in the darkest period of the war, when General Grant [cheers] was in the Wilderness, when General Sherman was before Atlanta, then it was that the people of the United States placed upon the public records a limit to the amount of United States notes to be issued, and decreed that it should never exceed the sum of four hundred million dollars. That is now a part of the law of the land, and it was done to check the depreciation of the United States notes, and is one of the bases and corner-stones which prevent a further depreciation of these notes; and from that time they began to rise in value. The law restricting the issue of those notes cannot be violated without violating the public honor, and a mandate of the Supreme Court would arrest any attempt to issue new notes in a time of profound peace, especially now, when the country is blessed with the best currency it has ever had or ever will have." [Cheers.]

Is anything more necessary? Prosperity reigns; the blast-furnaces of Pennsylvania are seething and hissing night and day; the great and varied manufactories of New York are strained to fill advance orders, and the products of New England's skilled labor and industry are in successful competition with those of Old England in the markets of the world. This is all the result of Republican policy, courage and patriotic statesmanship. "And yet the Democrats are not happy." They still cry out for a sufficient volume of greenbacks to meet the wants of the people. They want not the money that is made by labor, but that which may be made by law.

PART III.

The Fraud in Maine.

To show that the policy of the Democratic party, whether South or North, is the same, namely, fraud or force, and when both of these elements are found necessary to success and opportunity offers, a readiness to use both, it is only necessary to give the leading facts of the no less infamous than notorious efforts of Garcelon and his co-conspirators in Maine during the closing days and weeks of 1879.

From the mass of papers now before me, collected day by day at the time of these occurrences, I select, because of its clearness of statement and signal power, Mr. Blaine's speech at Augusta, on the 19th of December, 1879. The report is from the New York *Times*, and, after careful perusal, I find that I cannot omit a word without impairing its force. Mr. Blaine said:

"It is well, Mr. Chairman, in a meeting of this kind, to understand with precision the grievance of which the people complain. Let me state it as briefly as possible. On the 8th day of September last the voters of Maine, in pursuance of this organic law, proceeded to elect a Governor, and Senators and Representatives in the Legislature. The election was preceded by a prolonged, thorough, and a somewhat exciting canvass of the State. The Hon. Anson P. Morrill, who I regret is not able to be with us this evening, told me that he had voted for fifty-five consecutive years in Maine, and in many of the campaigns had taken, as we all know, an active part, and that, in the whole of that long period, he had never known a political contest in which the issues before the people had been so ably, so elaborately, and so thoroughly discussed, both on the stump and by the press. He said he did not believe there had ever been a year in which every citizen of the State knew so well just what he intended by his vote as in the election of 1879. I am sure that would be the testimony of every honest and candid man in the State. The vote was full, free and fair. The result of that election, as shown by the official returns, was to give the Republican candidate for Governor a plurality of 21,000 votes over the Greenback candidate, and of 46,000 over the Democratic candidate. In the Legislature, by the official returns, the Republicans chose 19 Senators and the opposition 12 Senators, and in the House the Republicans chose 90 members and the opposition 61. On the Legislative ticket, the Republicans had an absolute majority of nearly 5,000 on the popular vote. This was the result, as shown by official returns made by the city and town clerks, and immediately made public by the Secretary of State. When the sealed returns were opened some weeks later, to be counted by the Governor and Council, they disclosed the same result that had been published from the clerks' returns, and common honesty and common decency, to say nothing of official integrity, required that the men chosen by the people should be declared elected and receive their certificates.

But the Governor and Council have declared otherwise, and, in collusion with other well-known men, they entered into a conspiracy to change the result and deprive the people of their choice; and then began the remarkable count which has just closed to the lasting dishonor and disgrace of all who had a part or lot in it. They began to discover 'fatal defects,' as Governor Garcelon termed them, in the returns from Republican towns. Here and there an 'i' was not dotted, or a 't' not crossed, or a man had 'Jr.' left off his name, or the initial letter of his middle name was wrong, or the ballot that elected him had the names printed at right angles to the narrow side when they should have been parallel, or the signatures of all the town officers to the acute eye of a single Councillor, without any other evidence, were written in the same hand; or the total number of votes was not filled out in the right part of the election blank, or one of the town officers was an alien, or the Selectmen were permitted to swear away their return by *ex parte* affidavit. Although they had once sworn the return was sealed in open town meeting, they now swear it was not; or the return of cities was signed by only three Aldermen, just according to the blank sent out from the office of the Secretary of State, after being prepared as a trap or pitfall.

These, and numerous other minor points of like value, were freely used to destroy the popular vote and maintain in power the party and men whom the people have rejected. The result of the whole of this pitiful and wicked pettifogging was to change a Republican majority of 7 in the Senate and 29 in the House, to a fusion majority of 9 in the Senate and 17 in the House, with five Republican cities completely disfranchised, and denied by the Governor and Council the poor boon of a new election; so that Portland, Lewiston, Bath, Rockland, and Saco are absolutely rendered incapable of taking any part in the organization of the Legislature, or in the choice of Governor, or in the election of State officers, or in the original composition of the House committees, which shape and practically control legislation. Perhaps, if the representatives chosen by these five important cities will humbly petition the House and cool their heels in the ante-chamber of Fusion greatness for three or four weeks, they may be permitted to be sworn in, when they can no longer embarrass the progress of the conspirators' programme, and no longer be able to serve their constituents. These five cities have a valuation of more than $51,000,000, and pay nearly one-quarter of the entire taxes of the State. To be accurate, they pay 23 per cent. of the whole. This very year the Fusion State Government has levied and collected from these cities more than $200,000 of taxes; and now, by virtue of a disgraceful trick concocted in the office of the Secretary of State, four of these cities are disfranchised. The fifth—our beautiful metropolis, Portland—pays $118,000 of taxes, and is denied representation on the paltriest of dishonest pretexts, and is not even allowed the opportunity of a new election. But I will not allow myself to go into a long speech. Before closing, however, I beg you to observe the following points:

First.—The Governor and Council have refused certificates to twenty-nine Republican members of the House and to eight Senators, thirty-seven in all swept off and out by one wave of an autocratic hand.

Second.—Of this entire number there was not one case for which the law did not provide and direct the mode of correction. But the Council said the law was unconstitutional, and they set it aside. They gave out that Henry W. Paine, of Bos-

ton, advised them that was their proper course. When I see an opinion of Henry W. Paine that the Executive Department may at will set aside the laws they are sworn to enforce, I will unite with his other Kennebec friends in deploring the decay of his splendid intellect and the loss of his admirable judgment. Until then I prefer to remember Henry W. Paine as I have known him for a quarter of a century.

Third.—There have been fifty-nine annual elections in Maine, carried in turn by the old National Republicans, by Democrats, by Whigs, and for twenty-two years by the Republicans. In all that time not so many 'fatal defects' in the returns have been found, nor so many Senators and Representatives counted out as Gov. Garcelon and his Council have counted out this single year. I will not add—not half so many.

Fourth.—And all the 'fatal defects' are in Republican Senatorial and Representative districts. Not one of the Democrats or Greenbackers elected to the Senate or House was found to have a defective return behind him—of course not, after the returns had been secretly and surreptitiously doctored, as openly declared by the Hon. Charles B. Rounds. These returns were cooked and made over to fit the requirements, and the Council never dared to accept Mr. Rounds' offer to prove his charges. It is understood that they are taking characteristic revenge on Mr. Rounds, by counting him out of the office of County Attorney, to which he was honestly elected.

Fifth.—A few Fusion towns have been counted out here and there, but always so selected as not to affect the result, and still more cunningly selected so as to apparently justify the counting out of a large Republican town that would destroy a Republican Senator or Representative. To contrive all this required time, and so the present Council worked over the returns, cooking and doctoring them from October 30th to December 17th. For this period they did it openly. How long before October 30th the returns were surreptitiously opened will never be known until the Council grant the investigation asked for by Mr. Rounds. Ordinarily, in former years, a week or ten days sufficed for an honest Council to count the returns.

Sixth.—To make some sort of covering for the atrocious fraud they have committed, a great effort has been made to prove that the Republicans carried the election by bribery and corruption. This is a factious and fraudulent pretense, got up to cover a case. Why don't they indict somebody? They tried it in September before a Grand Jury, two-thirds of whose members were Fusionists, and they came very near indicting Democrats instead of Republicans. They have got up a large number of affidavits from men of a certain character, telling how they had been bought for $1 or $2, or some trifling sum. Many of these affidavits have been recalled by parties who made counter-statements declaring they had made the first affidavit when drunk, on liquor which the Democratic agent furnished. If a man will sell his vote for a dollar, or any other sum, he is hardly the witness to appear as the public prosecutor of a great party. The whole effort to sustain the bribery charge has been attended with disgraceful conduct by the men who started it, and who have systematically bribed their witnesses to commit perjury. These Democratic and Greenback agents have really been guilty themselves of bribery, of subornation of perjury, and of getting men drunk enough to be participants in both crimes.

Seventh.—Some of the Democrats who chuckle in private over this infamy, and do not wish to come out in square approval of it, are in the habit of charging it off against Louisiana, where, they allege, the Republicans cheated the Democrats. Well! Certainly. Maine Republicans did not cheat Louisiana Democrats, and even if somebody else had done so, Maine Republicans ought not to be made a vicarious sacrifice. But there was a cheat in Louisiana. The bull-dozers and murderers of that State were warned by law that wherever they wrought violence in a parish, and destroyed the right and power of peaceful voting, the parish should be thrown out. This was the law; whether wise or unwise was not for us to determine. But it was the law, and the enforcement of that law defeated Mr. Tilden and elected President Hayes. But where on earth is the analogy to sustain a fraud in Maine, unless you consider it good morals to steal my purse because you think an acquaintance of mine robbed your friend in Louisiana?

Eighth.—And now we are asked, with the insolence of the highwayman making off with stolen property, what are we going to do about it? We are pursued with the taunt that we cannot help ourselves, and are boldly told that the same tribunal that has 'done' the country this year will be in a position next year to repeat the game, and such I have no doubt is the deliberate intention. Success always inspires courage, and if the people of Maine meekly submit now, they will be called on for a still greater display of meekness hereafter. The prizes next year, besides the State offices, are five Representatives, a Senator of the United States, seven Presidential Electors, and the undisputed possession of the political power of the State till January, 1883, as we are to have biennial elections hereafter. Within that time they could apportion the State into Legislative and Congressional districts to suit themselves, gerrymandering, at will to appoint the Valuation Commissioners, who will punish certain sections of the State by an undue and unfair share of taxation, and generally run riot, after the reckless style of the Administration already inaugurated. This is the treat to which the people are invited; this is the burden for which they are asked to bend their backs; this is the degradation to which they are expected to submit. A great popular uprising will avert these evils and restore honest government to Maine, and the people are already moving."

At this same meeting the resolutions that were adopted declare:

First.—That a Republican form of goverment requires and demands prompt and hearty submission to the will of the majority as expressed at the polls, and any attempt to thwart this will or deprive the people of their choice, is a crime against liberty, which, if successful, will undermine civil order, corrupt society, and lead to bloodshed and anarchy.

Second.—That Alonzo Garcelon, Governor of Maine, and the seven Executive Councillors associated with him, have forfeited the confidence and earned the condemnation of the people of this State by falsely counting and falsely declaring the result of the recent election, and attempting to install the minority in power over the majority. They have committed this crime knowingly, willfully, and deliberately, with light before their eyes, and in defiance of the remonstrances, evidence, and proofs submitted to them by the aggrieved and outraged parties.

Third.—That a great crime of this kind, attempted for the first time in Maine, cannot carry with it the authority of law, and must not be permitted to achieve

its wrongful and wicked design. We call on all good citizens to unite with us in averting this threatened calamity, and we make a special and direct appeal to those men who were fraudulently counted in as Senators and Representatives not to contaminate their honor nor soil their consciences by accepting the wages of sin. They, each and all, have it in their power to refuse to act as receivers of stolen goods, and thus escape the brand of infamy which surely awaits thieves."

The admirable letters of ex-Senator Morrill, unanswerable in their facts, their logic impregnable, and the courageous and patriotic course of General Chamberlain and Eugene Hale, followed by the unanimous and repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Maine, sustaining the Republican case on every point submitted, and again deciding against Garcelon on the case as made by himself, ultimately succeeded in defeating this the most audacious, disloyal and dastardly fraud that ever was attempted on representative Government.

That it was the skirmish line of the Democratic army of traitor thieves, who contemplate the more gigantic enterprise of stealing the Presidency in March, 1880, no intelligent, honest man can for a moment doubt. Whether the men, and their descendants, of the twenty Northern States of this Union, who gave a half million of lives and five thousand millions of dollars to save it; crimsoned the green grass of America with the blood of her best and bravest; and watered its fields with the tears of mothers, widows and orphans of those who fell, will permit the Republic now to fall a prey to this Democratic force and fraud, is the question to be settled at the coming election of November, 1880.

" There is a weapon surer yet,
" And stronger than the bayonet;
" A weapon that comes down as still
" As snow-flakes fall upon the sod,
" And executes a freeman's will
" As lightening does the will of God."

PART IV.

COPPERHEAD REDIVIVUS.—THE PRETENDED FRIENDSHIP OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS FOR THE UNION SOLDIER.—ARREARS OF PENSIONS, ETC.

The sudden and new-found burst of friendship for the Union soldier on the part of the Democrats in Congress within the last year or two, must be amusing to the veterans of the late war for the Union, and to the widows and orphans of those who fell for their country, an insult which they must repel with just indignation. Bah! Friends indeed. Who forgets the dark days of 1862 when in New York the families of soldiers who were in the field, were made the scoff and jeer of every Democratic traitor who staid at home? When the thieves and traitors who composed the rebel home-guards of the North were organizing for their draft riots of a year later in the great commercial metropolis of the nation and who, when they were carrying out their hellish purpose, were addressed by two distinguished New York men in quite different tones: by Horatio Seymour, then Governor of New York, as "My Friends," and by the immortal John A. Dix with grape and canister and the sharp response of the Minnie-ball. Dix, the patriotic soldier and hero, who always had a ready answer for treason and traitors, saying to Governor Seymour when he made his mock offering of men to suppress the rioters, "I have men enough to take care of them and you."

What soldier of Ohio fails to remember that year when Vallandigham was making preparations for the reception of his friend John Morgan on his mission of destruction to the hearths and homes of Ohio soldiers, and slaughter to their wives, while they were absent fighting for their country and these same homes? And foremost among these brave Ohio boys, James A. Garfield, the glorious young soldier who was then fighting his way to the rank he soon after won, the highest in the field.

Can we forget or even forgive the crime that we still shudder at the thought of, that during that year of darkness and gloom the *patriotic* Blackburn was risking his life and spending his fortune in the hospitals of the tropics purchasing yellow-fever infected clothing to send to the northern cities of the Union as a new means of destroying the enemies of the so-called Confederacy? He is now honored by the Democrats of Kentucky with the Governorship of that State. Was not this the time when Union soldiers were in the estimation of northern Copperheads (I do not say Democrats, for all Democrats are not Copperheads, but it is at the same time undeniable that all Copperheads and traitors were at that time as now—Democrats), Lincoln hirelings, and the greenbacks with which they were paid, worthless paper, useful only to paper bar-rooms and barber shops. This was the vein of the soldier's *friends* in those dark days. Lately, in this latter respect as to "Greenbacks," a new light has come over the spirit of

their dreams, and for three years they have been howling like maniacs for more "Greenbacks." Two years ago, in Cooper Institute, New York, William M. Evarts disposed of these fellows in one sentence, and not one of his long ones either, telling them that the trouble with the greenbacks then was not that they purchased too little, but that they purchased too much; that the greenbacks purchased the musket and the cannon; the powder and the ball, and the rations and clothes for the Union soldiers who used these apt and happy means to put the traitors under and save the Union.

Is not the conduct of these friends (?) of the soldiers in Indiana during those days a matter of history, when a Legislature, a majority of whom turned out after to be "Knights of the Golden Circle," refused to the lamented Morton a dollar to put his troops in the field, and that patriot of patriots had to come to Washington and appeal to his friend, President Lincoln, who promptly supplied him with the necessary funds?

To be sure they are the soldier's friend, and, accordingly, last year, when they had two splendid Union soldiers on their ticket in Ohio, whose valor and patriotism were never doubted, the Democratic press all over Ohio claimed for General Rice the credit of having secured the passage of the Arrears of Pensions Bill, and of being its author. I don't believe Mr. Rice ever did or would make such a claim himself. But see how easy that wooden gun is spiked.

The following appears in the *Congressional Record* of the 2d of April, 1878:

"ARREARS OF PENSIONS.

Mr. CUMMINGS—I move that the rules be suspended and the bill which I send to the Clerk's desk be passed.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill to provide that all pensions on account of death, or wounds received, or disease contracted in the service of the United States during the late war of the rebellion, which have been granted, or which shall hereafter be granted, shall commence from the date of death or discharge from the service of the United States; for the payment of arrears of pensions and other purposes.

Be it enacted, &c., That all pensions which have been granted under the general laws regulating pensions, or may hereafter be, in consequence of death from a cause which originated in the United States service during the continuance of the late war of the rebellion, or in consequence of wounds, injuries or disease received or contracted in said service during said war of the rebellion, shall commence from the date of the death or discharge from said service of the person on whose account the claim has been or shall hereafter be granted, or from the termination of the right of the party having prior title to such pension: *Provided*, The rate of pension for the intervening time for which arrears of pension are hereby granted shall be the same per month for which the pension was originally granted.

SEC. 2. That the Commissioner of Pensions is hereby authorized and directed to adopt such rules and regulations for the payment of the arrears of pensions hereby granted as will be necessary to cause to be paid to such pensioners, or, if the pensioners shall have died, to the person or persons entitled to the same, all such arrears of pension as the pensioner may be or would have been entitled to under this act.

SEC. 3. That section 4717 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which provides that 'no claim for pension not prosecuted to a successful issue within five years from the date of filing the same shall be admitted without record-evidence from the War or Navy Department of the injury or disease which resulted in the disability or death of the person on whose account the claim is made: *Provided*, That in any case in which the limitation prescribed by this section bars the further prosecution of the claim the claimant may present, through the Pension Office, to the Adjutant-General of the Army or the Surgeon-General of the Navy evidence that the disease or injury which resulted in the disability or death of the person on whose account the claim is made originated in the service and in the line of duty; and if such evidence is deemed satisfactory by the officer to whom it may be submitted he shall cause a record of the fact so proved to be made, and a copy of the same to be transmitted to the Commissioner of Pensions, and the bar to the prosecution of the claim shall thereby be removed,' be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

SEC. 4. That all acts, or parts of acts, so far as they may conflict with the provisions of this act, be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

Mr. BEEBE—I would like to ask the gentleman from Iowa if he is prepared to state how many hundreds of millions of dollars this bill will take out of the Treasury?

Mr. CUMMINGS—Is debate in order?

Mr. BEEBE—I simply rise to make an inquiry.

Mr. CUMMINGS—I object to any inquiry unless it is a parliamentary one, and that, of course, should not be addressed to me.

Mr. RICE, of Ohio—I ask that the bill be referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

The SPEAKER—That motion is not in order; the motion of the gentleman from Iowa is to suspend the rules and pass the bill.

Mr. RICE, of Ohio—I wish to state to the House——

Mr. CUMMINGS—I object to any debate whatever.

Mr. BEEBE—I desire to make an inquiry of the Chair.

The SPEAKER—The gentleman can make any parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BEEBE—I would respectfully inquire of the gentleman from Iowa through the Chair how many millions of dollars this would take from the Treasury?

The SPEAKER—That is in the nature of an argument why the bill should not pass; the Chair cannot entertain it.

Mr. BEEBE—Then I withdraw it.

Mr. CLYMER—Would it be parliamentary to inquire whether this bill has been considered by any committee of the House?

The SPEAKER—The Chair cannot answer that question.

Mr. RICE, of Ohio—It has not.

Mr. CUMMINGS—I insist upon the regular order.

The SPEAKER—The regular order is the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill which has been read.

Mr. MCMAHON—I desire to inquire of the gentleman how this bill compares with the bill which has already been reported——

The SPEAKER—That is in the nature of debate.

Mr. CUMMINGS—I ask for the yeas and nays on my motion.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. RICE—I move that the House now adjourn, and on that motion I call the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas, 75; nays, 148; not voting, 58; as follows:

YEAS—75.

Beebe,	Eickhoff,	Hooker,	Robbins,
Bell,	Elam,	House,	Ross,
Bicknell,	Ellis,	Hunton,	Scales,
Boone,	Felton,	Jones, Frank,	Shelley,
Bouck,	Forney,	Jorgensen,	Singleton,
Bright,	Franklin,	Kenna,	Slemons,
Caldwell, John W.	Garth,	Knapp,	Smalls,
Caldwell, W. P.	Gause,	Knott,	Smith, William E.
Clark, of Missouri,	Giddings,	Landers,	Sparks,
Clymer,	Glover,	Ligon,	Springer,
Cook,	Goode,	Lockwood,	Swann,
Cravens,	Gunter,	Lynde,	Throckmorton,
Crittenden,	Hardenbergh,	Manning,	Tucker,
Cutler,	Harris, Henry R.	Money,	Turney,
Davidson,	Harris, John T.	Morrison,	Vance,
Davis, Joseph J.	Hartridge,	Muldrow,	Wigginton,
Dibrell,	Hatcher,	Muller,	Williams, Jere N.
Durham,	Henry,	Reagan,	Yeates.
Eden,	Hewitt, G. W.	Riddle,	

NAYS—148.

Acklen,	Conger,	Hunter,	Robinson, M. S.
Aiken,	Covert,	Ittner,	Ryan,
Aldrich,	Cox, Jacob D.	James,	Sampson,
Bacon,	Crapo,	Jones, James T.	Sapp,
Bagley,	Culberson,	Jones, John S.	Sayler,
Baker, John H.	Cummings,	Joyce,	Sexton,
Baker, William H.	Danford,	Keifer,	Sinnickson,
Ballou,	Davis, Horace,	Keightly,	Starin,
Banks,	Deering,	Ketcham,	Stewart,
Banning,	Denison,	Lathrop,	Stone, John W.
Bayne,	Dickey,	Lindsey,	Stone, Joseph C.
Bisbee,	Dunnell,	Luttrell,	Strait,
Blackburn,	Eames,	Marsh,	Thompson,
Blair,	Ellsworth,	Mayham,	Tipton,
Bliss,	Evans, I. Newton,	McGowan,	Townsend, Amos
Boyd,	Evans, James L.	McKenzie,	Townsend, M. I.
Brentano,	Finley,	McKinley,	Townshend, R. W.
Brewer,	Fort,	McMahon,	Turner,
Briggs,	Foster,	Metcalfe,	Van Vorhes,
Brogden,	Freeman,	Monroe,	Wait,
Browne,	Frye,	Morgan,	Walsh,
Buckner,	Fuller,	Neal,	Ward,
Bundy,	Gardner,	Norcross,	Warner,
Burchard,	Garfield,	Oliver,	Watson,
Burdick,	Hale,	Page,	Welch,
Butler,	Hamilton,	Patterson, G. W.	White, Harry
Cain,	Harmer,	Phelps,	White, Michael D.
Calkins,	Harris, Benj. W.	Phillips,	Williams, A. S.
Campbell,	Hartzell,	Pollard,	Williams, Andrew
Cannon,	Haskell,	Pound,	Williams, C. G.
Carlisle,	Hazelton,	Price,	Williams, Richard
Caswell,	Hendee,	Pugh,	Willis, Albert S.
Claflin,	Henderson,	Rainey,	Willis, Benj. A.
Clarke, of Ky.	Henkle,	Randolph,	Willits,
Clark, Rush,	Hewitt, Abram S.	Reed,	Wilson,
Cobb,	Hiscock,	Rice, Americus V.	Wren,
Cole,	Humphrey,	Rice, William W.	Wright.

NOT VOTING—58.

Atkins,	Errett,	Maish,	Robertson,
Benedict,	Evins, John H.	Martin,	Robinson, G. D.
Bland,	Ewing,	McCook,	Schleicher,
Blount,	Gibson,	Mills,	Shallenberger,
Bragg,	Hanna,	Mitchell,	Smith, A. Herr
Bridges,	Harrison,	Morse,	Southard,
Cabell,	Hart,	O'Neill,	Steele,
Camp,	Hayes,	Overton,	Stenger,
Candler,	Herbert,	Patterson, T. M.	Stephens,
Chalmers,	Hubbell,	Peddie,	Thornburgh,
Chittenden,	Hungerford,	Potter,	Veeder,
Clark, Alvah A.	Kelley,	Powers,	Waddell,
Collins,	Killinger,	Pridemore,	Walker,
Cox, Samuel S.	Kimmel,	Quinn,	Whitthorne,
Dean,	Lapham,	Rea,	Williams, James
Douglas,	Loring,	Reilly,	Wood,
Dwight,	Mackey,	Roberts,	Young.

So the motion to adjourn was not agreed to.

During the call of the roll the following announcements were made:

Mr. HARRIS, of Virginia—My colleagues, Mr. PRIDEMORE and Mr. JORGENSEN, are paired on all political questions. Mr. PRIDEMORE is detained at home by illness in his family.

Mr. FOSTER—I am paired on all political questions with Mr. Waddell, of North Carolina. As I do not regard this a political question, I will vote in the negative.

Mr. PATTERSON, of Colorado—I am paired with Mr. Errett, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. MARTIN—I am paired with Mr. Hubbell, of Michigan.

The result of the vote was then announced as above stated.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Sympson, one of its clerks, informed the House that the Senate had passed, without amendment, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

A joint resolution (H. R. No. 142) making an appropriation for filling up, draining, and placing in good sanitary condition the grounds south of the Capitol along the line of the old canal, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House was requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

A bill (H. R. No. 3987) to regulate the advertising of mail-lettings.

The message further announced that the Senate had passed and requested the concurrence of the House in a bill of the following title:

A bill (S. No. 1014) requiring the commissioner for preparing and publishing a new edition of the Revised Statutes of the United States to revise and perfect the index to the first volume of the same.

The question recurred on the motion of Mr. Cummings to suspend the rules and and pass the bill indicated by him.

Mr. SPRINGER—Has this bill been reported from the Committee on Invalid Pensions?

Mr. RICE, of Ohio—It has not been; the committee have matured a bill of like import.

Mr. CUMMINGS—I object to debate and insist on the regular order.

Mr. SPRINGER—In order that we may have an opportunity to ascertain what this bill is, I move that the House now adjourn.

The SPEAKER—That motion is not now in order.

Mr. SPRINGER—Business has intervened since the last motion to adjourn was decided.

The SPEAKER—What business?

Mr. SPRINGER—The bill has been read.

The SPEAKER—That was for the information of the House.

Mr. BEEBE—Has not the House received a message from the Senate since the last motion to adjourn? And is not that business of so much importance that it even necessitates the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole leaving the chair?

The SPEAKER—The Chair will direct the Clerk to read Rule 161, which is very plain.

The Clerk read as follows:

Pending a motion to suspend the rules, the Speaker may entertain one motion that the House do now adjourn; but after the result thereon is announced he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion till the vote is taken on suspension.

Mr. SPRINGER—A motion to adjourn is not necessarily a dilatory motion.

The SPEAKER—The Clerk will read from page 151 of the Digest.

The Clerk read as follows:

A motion to adjourn may be repeated, although no question has been put or decided since the former motion, but there must have been some intervening business. Another motion submitted, progress in debate, or reading a paper by the Clerk, an order of the yeas and nays, &c., has been considered 'such intervening business' as will authorize the repetition of the motion to adjourn.

The SPEAKER—The Chair does not think that a message from the Senate ever has been considered 'intervening business' in the sense of the rule.

Mr. SPRINGER—The reading of the bill is intervening business according to the rule.

The SPEAKER—The bill was read for the information of the House, being the bill upon which the House was about to vote, and it was entirely within the right of any single member to call for its reading.

Mr. WILSON—I desire to ask the gentleman offering this bill one question.

Mr. CUMMINGS—Regular order!

The SPEAKER—The gentleman declines to answer the question, and demands the regular order. The Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken: and there were—yeas 145, nays 76, not voting 70; as follows:

YEAS—145.

Aldrich,	Deering,	Lathrop,	Sinnickson,
Bacon,	Denison,	Lindsey,	Smalls,
Bagley,	Dickey,	Lockwood,	Sparks,
Baker, John H.	Dunnell,	Luttrell,	Springer,
Baker, William H.	Eames,	Marsh,	Starin,
Ballou,	Ellsworth,	McGowan,	Stewart,
Banks,	Evans, James L.	McKinley,	Stone, John W.
Banning,	Ewing,	McMahon,	Stone, Joseph C.
Bayne,	Finley,	Metcalf.	Strait,
Bisbee,	Fort,	Mitchell,	Thompson,
Blair,	Freeman,	Monroe,	Tipton,
Bliss,	Frye,	Morgan,	Townsend, Amos
Bouck,	Fuller.	Morrison,	Townsend, M. I.
Boyd,	Gardner,	Neal,	Townshend, R. W.
Brentano,	Garfield,	Norcross,	Turner,
Brewer,	Hale,	Oliver,	Turney,
Briggs,	Hamilton,	Page,	Van Vorhes,
Brogden,	Harmer,	Patterson, G. W.	Wait,
Browne,	Harris, Benj. W.	Patterson, T. M.	Walsh,
Burchard,	Hartzell,	Phelps,	Ward,
Burdick,	Haskell,	Phillips,	Warner,
Butler,	Hazelton,	Pollard,	Watson,
Cain,	Hendee,	Pound,	Welch,
Calkins,	Henderson,	Powers,	White, Harry
Campbell,	Hiscock,	Price,	White, Michael D.
Cannon,	Hunter,	Pugh,	Williams, Andrew
Claflin,	Humphrey,	Quinn,	Williams, A. S.
Clark, Rush	Ittner,	Rainey,	Williams, C. G.
Clymer,	James,	Randolph,	Williams, Richard
Cobb,	Jones, John S.	Reed,	Willis, Benjamin A.
Cole,	Jorgensen,	Rice, Americus V.	Willits,
Conger,	Joyce,	Robinson, M. S.	Wilson,
Crapo,	Keifer,	Ross,	Wren,
Cummings,	Keightley,	Ryan,	Wright.
Cutler,	Kenna,	Sampson,	
Danford,	Ketcham,	Sapp,	
Davis, Horace	Knapp,	Sexton,	

NAYS—76.

Acklen,	Culberson,	Harris, Henry R.	McKenzie,
Aiken,	Davidson,	Harris, John T.	Money,
Bell,	Davis, Joseph J.	Hart,	Morse,
Bicknell,	Dibrell,	Hartridge,	Muldrow,
Blackburn,	Durham,	Hatcher,	Rea,
Boone,	Eden,	Henry,	Reagan,
Bright,	Eickhoff,	Hewitt, Abram S.	Riddle,
Buckner,	Elam,	Hewitt, G. W.	Robbins,
Caldwell, John W.	Ellis,	Herbert,	Scales,
Caldwell, W. P.	Felton,	Hooker,	Shelley,
Carlisle,	Forney,	House,	Singleton,
Clark of Missuri,	Franklin,	Hunton,	Slemons.
Clarke of Kentucky,	Garth,	Jones, Frank	Smith, William E.
Cook,	Gause,	Jones, James T.	Trockmorton,
Covert,	Giddings,	Knott,	Tucker,
Cox, Jacob D.	Glover,	Ligon,	Vance,
Cox, Samuel S.	Goode,	Lynde,	Wigginton,
Cravens,	Gunter,	Manning,	Williams, Jere N.
Crittenden,	Hardenbergh,	Mayham,	Yeates.

NOT VOTING—70.

Atkins,	Dwight,	Mackey,	Shallenberger,
Beebe,	Errett,	Maish,	Smith, A. Herr
Benedict,	Evans, I. Newton	Martin,	Southard,
Bland,	Evins, John H.	McCook,	Steele,
Blount,	Foster,	Mills,	Stenger,
Bragg,	Gibson,	Muller,	Stephens,
Bridges,	Hanna,	O'Neill,	Swann,
Bundy,	Harrison,	Overton,	Thornburgh,
Cabell,	Hayes,	Peddie,	Veeder,
Camp,	Henkle,	Potter,	Waddell,
Candler,	Hubbell,	Pridemore,	Walker,
Caswell,	Hungerford,	Reilly,	Whitthorne,
Chalmers,	Kelley,	Rice, William W.	Williams, James
Chittenden,	Killinger,	Roberts,	Willis, Albert S.
Clark, Alvah A.	Kimmel,	Robertson,	Wood,
Collins,	Landers,	Robinson, G. D.	Young.
Dean,	Lapham,	Sayler,	
Douglas,	Loring,	Schleicher,	

So (two-thirds not voting in favor thereof) the rules were not suspended.

During the roll-call the following announcements were made:

Mr. AIKEN—My Colleague from South Carolina, Mr. Evins, is paired on all questions of this kind with the gentleman from New York, Mr. McCook. My colleague, if present, would vote 'no.'

Mr. LANDERS—I am paired with the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Robinson.

Mr. EVANS, of Pennsylvania—I am paired with my colleague, Mr. Mackey. I desire also to announce that my colleague, Mr. O'Neill, is paired with my colleague, Mr. Stenger. Mr. O'Neill, if present, would vote 'ay.' My colleague, Mr. Smith, of Pennsylvania, is paired with the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Atkins.

Mr. FOSTER—I am paired with the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Waddell. His colleagues have generally voted 'no' on this question. If he were present, I should vote 'ay.'

Mr. BALLOU—The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Shallenberger, is paired with his colleague, Mr. Marsh. Mr. Shallenberger, if present, would vote 'ay.'

Mr. MITCHELL—My colleagues, Mr. Overton and Mr. Reilly, are paired.

Mr. BAYNE—The gentleman from New York, Mr. Dwight, is paired with my colleague, Mr. Bridges.

Mr. STRAIT—On all political questions I am paired with the gentleman from Delaware, Mr. Williams. This does not seem to be a party vote, and I vote 'ay.'

Mr. THOMPSON—I desire to announce that my colleague, Mr. Errett, is absent by leave of the House. If he were here, he would vote 'ay.'

Mr. MULDROW—My colleague, General Chalmers, is paired with the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Caswell.

Mr. CASWELL—If the friends of General Chalmers regard this as a political question I withdraw my vote. I have voted 'ay.'

Mr. MARTIN—I am paired with the gentleman from Michigan. Mr. Hubbell.

Mr. BOYD—My colleague, Mr. Hayes, is paired with the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Steele. Mr. Hayes, if present, would vote 'ay.'

The result of the vote was announced as above stated."

That is enough to show not only who were the soldier's friends, but who was the author and constant advocate of that measure of justice to the soldier, his widow and his orphan children, too long delayed but finally passed. Whatever credit one man is entitled to more than another in regard to it, belongs to Col. Cummings, of Wintersett, Iowa. "Honor to whom honor is due."

Here is what the eloquent Charlie Williams, of Wisconsin, had to say on the subject a few days later, April 10th. I am sorry I can only give an extract from this patriotic appeal for justice to the soldier by one of the best men in this country:

"The House having under consideration the bill to provide that all pensions on account of death, or wounds received, or disease contracted in the service of the United States during the late war of the rebellion, which have been granted, or which shall hereafter be granted, shall commence from the date of death or discharge from the service of the United States; for the payment of arrears of pensions and other purposes—

Mr. WILLIAMS said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I am indebted to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Dickey) for yielding to me a portion of his time, that I may place before the House now some remarks upon this bill, which its consideration this afternoon under suspension of the rules, cutting off debate, prevented my doing. I desire to address my remarks to the general principles and equities of the bill rather than to its specific details. The vote to-day upon the motion of the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Cummings), being 145 yeas to 76 nays, though falling short of the requisite two-thirds necessary to pass the bill under suspension of the rules, would seem to indicate its final passage by a majority vote when reached in its regular order.

An analysis of this vote shows it to be somewhat peculiar. Among the yeas are found one hundred and twenty Republicans and twenty-five Democrats; among the nays are seventy-five Democrats and one Republican. Of the yeas only two, Mr. Morgan, of Missouri, and Mr. Turner, of Kentucky, come from Southern States, while of the nays, one, Mr, Cox, of Ohio, comes from a Northern State. These political and sectional characteristics, however, only apply to the House, because it will be remembered that while both Republican and Democratic Houses have passed this bill heretofore, a Republican Senate has steadily refused to pass it, and the standard objection to it has been that it would create a great draught upon the Treasury.

Sir, when these pensions were earned, when the country rocked in the great storm of rebellion, draughts upon the Treasury were not so much thought of then, though they came at the rate of $1,000,000 per day. The draught at that time was upon the soldier, upon his patriotism, his heroism, his strength, his life. If he would only go to the front, leave all he held dear behind, stand between us and danger, though he fell on the field or became diseased or disabled, his name should be held in everlasting remembrance, and his wife and little ones be tenderly cared for. These were the assurances repeated in a thousand different forms by which we induced the soldier to march out to battle. Now we are told that this is all 'sentiment.' Yes, sir, it *is* sentiment; a kind of sentiment which broke down health, tore away limbs, put out life; a sentiment which we may have forgotten, but which the soldier remembers when, pinched by want, he gathers his little

family about him and counts over again what is justly his due from the Government; a sentiment he remembers when, day by day, month by month, year by year, through pain and suffering which never cease, he drags a deceased and mutilated body on toward the darkness of the grave; and, though he forgets it there, it will spring into life again in the memory of his children!

Mr. Speaker, what a mockery! to lead the boy to the father's grave which we tenderly strew with flowers in the spring time, while he remembers that all through the winter we have grudgingly withheld the small pittance due to mother and sisters. Sir, is this the lesson of patriotism and this the measure of performance which we propose to hold out in the future, when we want soldiers again? Ah, sir, better; far better so act that while the son recounts the deeds of the father he shall at the same time remember the magnanimity of the Government, and thus the love of country be planted so deep in the hearts of the people that a feeling of attachment and reverence shall grow up which will make our country and its institutions impregnable.

But we are told that this will cost $7,000,000, and may cost $10,000,000. Very likely. But supposing it is justly due the soldier; what then? It costs nearly $300,000,000 annually to run the Government. Shall we therefore cease appropriating? We pay annual pensions now to the amount of $30,000,000. Why not strike off $10,000,000 or $15,000,000 from these and save the money? We could do it just as honorably, just as fairly, and I think just as legally as we can withhold the sums actually due upon these arrearages. We appropriate annually $10,000,000 to our Navy, $33,000,000 to our postal service, from $7,000,000 to $10,000,000 for the improvement of rivers and harbors; but everybody is interested in these, while only the old soldier and his wife and children are interested in this. These soldiers are poor and humble and widely separated. They combined for the defense of the country, but they cannot combine to press this claim for the remnant of their dues. Therefore it is safe to vote in the negative and win a reputation for 'economy, for independence of judgment and sound and prudent statesmanship, relieved of all nonsense and sentiment! Sir, I doubt not that men have voted against this bill heretofore really believing themselves to be the bravest of the brave.

Ah, sir, it is becoming so easy to be brave when the rights of the humble or the liberties of the lowly are to be given away! But it is not so easy when organized wealth and power sweep up and arrogantly demand our votes.

But I said I wanted to speak of the general principles of this bill. What are they? One of them is this: If a soldier, his wife, or children, draw a pension at all, it must be for some cause known to the pension laws. Now, what are these causes?

1. Death in the military service.

2. Discharge from the service on account of wounds or injuries received or disease contracted in the service and in the line of duty.

3. The subsequent development of disease by which the soldier is incapacitated from labor, provided the disease is traceable and due to the military service of the United States.

Before he can procure a pension at all he must bring himself within one of these classes, and he must do it under the forms and past all the guards and guarantees

which the Government has set up for the detection of fraudulent claims for pension.

To this end all technical tests, whether military, medical or legal, must be fully complied with. Now, if through all these processes, bristling with technicalities and difficulties, the fact appears, whether it be death, disability, or disease contracted in the service, or the subsequent development of disease contracted in the service incapacitating the soldier for labor, then out of the *fact* comes the pension, as effect follows cause.

The essence of the whole matter is the fact, and not the machinery nor the time nor any of the appliances necessary to establish it. One soldier may be fortunate, and all record evidence be at hand to establish his case in a day, while another, perhaps disabled on the same day and in a similar manner, may, without any fault of his, require months, and even years, to establish his claim, and may be subjected to great trouble and expense in so doing. Now, will it be claimed for a moment that, while the Government promptly pays the fortunate soldiers, it should seek to make money out of the unfortunate one, when perhaps both fought on the same field; but in the one case the records were regularly returned to the Surgeon-General's office, while in the other they were captured or destroyed? Do gentlemen think it quite the thing to save money by these methods? And shall a great government do this mean thing in the name of 'economy' and not call it by its true name, *downright robbery?*

There are other cases where men, knowing themselves to be entitled to pensions, but being in comfortable circumstances and possessing full-souled patriotism, have forborne applying for their just dues, while the Government has enjoyed the benefit in the mean time, who, by reverse of fortune or broken health, find themselves compelled at last to apply for a pension; and having established their right to it under all the requirements of law, does the Government propose, can the Government afford, to punish and discourage this sort of magnamity by meanly withholding a portion of the pension so found to be due?"

The first evidence the Democrats gave of friendship to the Union soldier four years ago, when they got control of the House of Representatives, was to discharge every Union soldier who had been up to that time an employee of the House, and most of them were one-armed soldiers, too. How are you, Soldier's Friend?

PART V.

Southern War Claims.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution provides:

"Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void."

How have the Democratic House of Representatives respected and construed this provision of the Constitution? A few brief illustrations will serve to show. In a speech in the House on the 1st of May, 1878, by the Hon. Philip C. Hayes, of Illinois, he gives an enumeration of the bills introduced for the payment of Southern War Claims in the Forty-fifth Congress up to March 18, 1878, with name of claimant, cause of claim and amount in each case, ranging from ten thousand up to and over two hundred thousand dollars. They are more than four hundred in number, and cannot be enumerated in the space I have. The grand total is two hundred and five million dollars. The estimate from the book of Judge Barclay, the Southern gentleman who took upon himself the task of hunting up and formulating all Southern Claims is three hundred million dollars in private claims; and, recollect, this leaves in reserve the contemplated payment for slaves.

In this speech Mr. Hayes quotes thus from the Mobile (Alabama) *Register*—

"Was the letter written by Mr. Tilden a short time before the election, saying he would veto any bill proposed to pay Southern War Claims.

The writing of this letter was Mr. Tilden's great crime, for which the Southern people will never forgive him. His sad fate will doubtless be a warning to all future aspirants for the Presidency, who expect to be elected to that office by the aid of Southern Democratic votes. The fact is, no Democrat can be elected President without the votes of the 'solid South,' and while the 'solid South' may not ask a pledge in favor of paying Southern claims, it will hereafter support no one who is pledged against such payment. And, Mr. Speaker, what I have said in regard to aspirants for the Presidency can be said with equal truth in regard to the aspirant for any office at the South. No man can be elected to any office in that section who dares to proclaim himself opposed to paying these Southern claims.

Men who expect to succeed politically must be in harmony with their people in this respect,"

and continues his quotation from Judge Bartley's pamphlet, as follows:

"This fact is clearly understood by gentlemen from the South in this House, and it is because they understand it so clearly that they are so earnest and persistent in their efforts to secure the payment of these claims. In pushing these claims these gentlemen are only carrrying out the wishes, I may say the demands, of their constituents, who are not only determined that these claims shall be paid, but who urge their payment on the ground of justice to themselves. They hold to the idea that the Government is under obligation to pay them. They go so far as to declare that the claims for captured and abandoned property and for private property taken by the Union Army in the way of supplies, constitute a part of the war debt of the nation. Indeed, Judge Bartley, whose little pamphlet was distributed so freely among members of this body a few days ago, argues that the property taken for the subsistence of the Union Army saved the Government from raising money on the sale of its bonds in the sums represented by the value of the property seized and used, and that the claims for the payment for this property are as just and as valid a lien upon the Treasury as the bonded debt itself. In fact he thinks they should take precedence of the bonded debt in equity, because that debt draws interest while the claims do not. The Judge presents his case in the strongest light possible and closes his pamphlet of twenty pages with the following significant paragraph:

The foregoing views are expressed on mature consideration from a sense of duty to several hundred citizens of Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas, represented by the undersigned as their counsel. The positions assumed can and will be maintained and cannot be successfully controverted in or out of Congress. If the plain language used is expressive of some feeling, it arises simply from a deep sense of the wrong and injustice done to injured parties, and is not intended to be discourteous, but in all due deference and respectful regard for the public authorities.

Now, sir, it would be well to note this language carefully. Judge Bartley says he is working 'from a sense of duty to several hundred citizens' of the South who are pushing their claims with all the vigor and determination possible. He and his clients have taken a position that 'can and will be maintained and cannot be successfully controverted in or out of Congress.' He apologizes for the strong language used by saying that 'it arises simply from a deep sense of wrong and injustice done to injured parties.' He advocates the idea that the Government is in duty bound to pay these claims and that it has greatly wronged these claimants in not paying them long ago. And, sir, this same idea is advocated by thousands of southern men to-day. Only a few days ago I received a pamphlet written by Dr. J. F. Foard, of North Carolina, in which the writer discusses this subject at some length, declaring that the Government should pay these claims as a matter of justice and right. After devoting several pages to setting forth the losses sustained by the southern people, he uses these words: 'The easiest and best way to heal them'—the wounds made by the war—'is to compensate those who lost so much in the conflict.'

In a subsequent chapter he says:

Let us go at this work promptly, earnestly and honestly, that it may be as a monument of truth and justice, erected in the hearts of our children to remind them of the importance of national honor, peace and good will.

The last page of his book contains the following, which will be read with great interest, especially by the Union men of the North:

That co-operative action be had in this matter, a form of a memorial to Congress is appended to these pages. Let every one who feels an interest in the great work copy and obtain the signatures of his neighbors to it, and inclose it to one of our Senators or Representatives in Congress as early as practicable, and urge its adoption:

Form of a memorial to Congress.

STATE OF ——— ———,
County of ———, ———, 187 .

To the honorable Senators and Members of the House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

We, the citizens of the United States, most respectfully petition your honorable bodies to enact a law by which all citizens of every section of the United States may be paid for all their property destroyed for them by the governments and armies of *both sides* during the late war between the States, in bonds bearing 3 per cent, interest per annum, maturing within the next hundred years.

And we also petition that all soldiers, or their legal representatives, of *both* armies and every section, be paid in bonds or *public lands* for their lost time, limbs, and lives, while engaged in the late unfortunate civil conflict. And we will ever pray, &c.

The speech will be found entire in the *Congressional Record* of May 3, 1878, and will well repay perusal.

PART VI.

The Solid South.—How it was made solid for the Democratic Party, and its real attitude now towards the Federal Union.

By the first article of the Constitution the basis of representation in the popular branch of Congress (House of Representatives) was thus fixed:

"Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment."

The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, the Fourteenth declared who were citizens of the United States, and the Fifteenth Amendment enfranchised the then recently emancipated slaves of the sixteen slave States, and declared the fundamental law on the right of suffrage and its exercise.

Here are the amendments referred to:

"ARTICLE XIII.

Sec. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

Sec. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State in which they reside.

ARTICLE XV.

SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have "power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The estimated number of slaves in the South was four millions. Under the Constitution, as it stood before the amendments, three-fifths, or two million four hundred thousand of these were counted in, making up the basis of Congressional representation, and one million six hundred thousand were excluded. Under the amendments quoted this one million six hundred thousand were added to the basis of representation. The South by this change gained thirty-eight members of Congress, and a like number of electoral votes in the College of Presidential Electors.

The colored people were, and are to-day, Republicans, and when they were allowed to vote, voted that ticket, as it was most natural that they should. The men who had kept them in bondage—slavery of body, soul and mind; slavery, that same fragrant plant that flourished around the hearth of Abraham and made Sarah a lady; slavery, that, except in finding a "deeper deep" of meanness and cruelty, never changed its character until the day when the second and better Abraham (Lincoln) struck it a blow that killed it forever—these men that fought four years to establish a new government, a new nation, with slavery for its corner-stone, the colored people of the South knew to be their enemies; and they know as well that these same men were Democrats, and formed not a wing, but the great centre of the Democratic Party. These same emancipated American citizens know that the men of the North who had reddened the green grass of the South with their best blood, and spent millions, thousands of millions of dollars to maintain the Union and abolish slavery, were their friends, and that these formed the Republican party, centre and both wings. Where, then, could the blacks cast their votes except with the Republican party?

As a consequence of this change, the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida and South Carolina became positive and assured Republican States. They were Republican in 1868, in 1870, in 1872 and partially so in 1874; and in 1876 the States of Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida were as certainly and as honestly Republican as they were in 1868 and 1872; but the Democratic programme of stamping out Republicanism in the South, and especially what the Southern Rebels boasted then, and boast now of, their success in the project of preventing the negro from ever more voting, and in time reducing him to what these inhuman wretches called his normal condition, so that he should be a slave *de facto*, though he was not, and could not be *de jure*, had not then been consummated. That consummation remained

for the well intended, but weak policy of "conciliation" that turned over the honestly chosen Governments of Louisiana and South Carolina to Nichols and Wade Hampton, and makes the South solid to-day for the Democratic Union Soldier of Gettysburg and the Wilderness, who has endorsed all the infamy that has followed, as well as the threats of these same rebels for the future, including the latest utterances of Jefferson Davis, that the "Confederacy still exists," by handing over his well tried sword, hilt foremost, to Wade Hampton and Boss Kelly, in the Cincinnati Convention.

HOW THE SOUTH WAS MADE SOLID.

The system of terrorism in Mississippi began in 1875, by a campaign of slaughter, deliberate murder, house-burning and abuse of women; stifling not only free speech on political topics, but all speech from the poor persecuted negro, even the wives and children who mourned the death of the husband and father murdered before their eyes.

The bloody history of that year in Mississippi, which I have now before me, is too shocking to repeat. It finds no parallel in history, Pagan, Mohammedan or Christian. No wonder that the brave and big-hearted Phil. Sheridan classed such wretches as assassins and banditti.

Dixon, himself a leading Democrat, for daring to be so independent as to differ with these shot gun, red-shirted night riders, was cruelly and brutally murdered at noonday, in the streets of Yazoo, and Barksdale, his cowardly murderer, was never even indicted for the crime. He was applauded for it by the Democratic newspapers of Mississippi, and by many outside of that State.

The story of the Chisholm massacre—the bloody tragedy involving the willful, deliberate and premeditated murder of a father, daughter and infant son, and the friend of another land, McLellan, who was trying to save the children—has been read at every fireside of the North. I will not attempt to repeat it here. I must not, however, deprive the reader of what the orator of the Empire State, and the orator of America, said of it less than a year ago in a speech that will favorably compare with the best efforts of Peel, O'Connell and Tom Corwin, the three greatest popular orators of modern times. In his great speech at Cooper Institute, on the night of the 21st of October last (1879), William M. Evarts thus gives the lessons from the Chisholm tragedy:

"It does not take much reasoning or much explanation to prove to the American people that this is the condition of the Southern suffrage. Some very pregnant and very instructive examples have occurred to show, as with a blaze of light, to the American people what the condition of the suffrage is. I do not allude to the murder of Chisholm for the tragic traits of that occurrence. I have no desire to stir up your feelings to mutiny and rage by depicting the action of the little boy and the girl throwing their frail bodies forward as a shield to protect their father's breast from the murderous fire of twenty or thirty men. I ask

your attention to it as evidence of its political character, of its political features—as expressing the opinions of and being adopted by the community in which it was perpetrated. Chisholm said with his last breath, 'I die for my country, and because I would be a freeman and a Republican.' [Applause.]

"In time of war we are willing to die for our country, that we may be freemen and Republicans. The horrors of war and violence against the law we can endure, but the horrors of peace and the violence to the majesty of laws we cannot, and we will not endure. [Great applause.] The North, just and patient, waited in order to see whether any movement would be made to punish that crime, and by the example of that punishment give security to other people down there who want to be freemen and Republicans. Two years passed without a trial. The trial has now been had. This law-abiding people always wait the result, and the result was that, with a just judge and a faithful prosecuting officer and a jury, the criminals were acquitted as having done nothing that the community wishes to see punished. And, strange to say, it is made a subject of some credit, as they think, to the community that the jury was not packed. If the jury had heen packed they might have said, 'That does not represent the sentiments of the vicinage, the people of the county or the people of the State.' But it was not packed; it was a fair representation of the character, the opinions, wishes and purposes of that community. And so it was; and how many men do you think, down there, can have a free suffrage—not when individual violence attacks them, but when that individual violence is not resisted, is not resented, is not punished by the laws or the people who administer the laws? Mark how this wicked terrorism, that began by proscribing the opposite party, makes its progress to discouraging, pursuing and punishing dissent and independence in the party itself. In Yazoo County a citizen that was crowned with honor for his persecution of Republicans—that had received a silver pitcher from his grateful fellow-citizens for what he did for them in that direction—becomes an independent Democrat, and is slain because discords cannot be allowed in that party. And thus, step by step, wherever the law does not prevail, wherever reason and conscience and equality have their voice stifled, there is nothing left for that community but each progressive stage of terror, horror, sycophancy and abject submission, till at length the very bonds of the cohesion of society were threatened, and humanity that is trampled on finds no recourse but in a violent resistance—covering with horrors and with blood communities which have been so wicked as to foster violence, and which roll it as a sweet morsel under their tongues. [Applause.]

"Now, in South Carolina, Mr. Brice was killed in trying to get up a Republican meeting. The man was tried. It is to be hoped he will be convicted, and it is said there is some assurance that it may turn out so if the Northern people don't express their sentiments too loudly on that subject. Well, the South Carolina gentlemen appear to wish to do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame. We will do everything in our power to assist them; but in the trials that the Government undertook to prosecute in South Carolina for interference with the Civil Rights bill—with that clause of the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance of it which undertake to save people from proscription and violence on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude—the law was parried, convictions were prevented, and the power of the United States put at naught by the evidence—which was true, too—that they were not denied these rights be-

cause they were colored men, but because they were Republicans [applause]; and the Constitution and laws are powerless to prevent that harrying of Republicans, although it can prevent the harrying of colored men as colored men. Now the suffrage, gentlemen, as the life of our institutions, is not a mere deposit of votes. The suffrage is a live institution—it is a free and intelligent power in the country, it is the greatest educator of the people, it is the greatest conciliator of the people to obedience to the laws that a community ever had. What becomes of it in the Southern States? Are they being educated to freedom? Are they being conciliated to the laws by that method of suffrage? By no means. It is a substitution of violence and of terror, and the suffrage decays. A dearth of free schools, a desuetude of free speech and the decay of free suffrage go hand in hand; and if these people will save their own suffrage from being subjugated by this dead mass of violent and despotic suffrage, they must stir themselves to see that free schools, free speech and free suffrage shall pervade every corner of this land. [Applause.]

"The same reasons and arguments are used that were used to bind the slaveholders together against the freemen of the North—State rights that prevents legal interference, and State pride that won't tolerate discussion; and Mr. Toombs was right when he said that he would call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill. It is true that he could call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill as well as in their cabins in the South, and they would answer him as much in one place as in the other. So I warn you now that you do not allow the suffrage to be subjugated; for if it is subjugated in New York City, it will be in the other great cities of the land, and so, disunited and repressed, the people will have no voice to make the same kind of resistance to one subjugation that they made before. [Cheers.] It is not that I fear the triumph of this subjugation, but I deprecate the strife and the calamity of the struggle. We can bear and we can redress this evil, but we cannot submit to it. We cannot foster it and we cannot support it; and we might bear it with better patience if the people of this country had nothing to do but attend to these political questions. But we have a great many things to do. We have our manufactures, our agriculture, our commerce. We have the fostering and advancement of enterprise, of religion, of civilization, and we have our place among the nations of the world if we will step forward and take it. [Applause.] And we do not intend to be kept forever from these pursuits by having forced upon us, in a clear sky, these thunderbolts and threatenings of danger in the Southern heavens. [Applause.] Look at the single State of Mississippi. It may not be worth our while to consider the ruin and disaster of this single State; but, gentlemen, a hot box may stop a whole train, and we do not intend that Mississippi shall act as a hot box to stop the progress of this nation." [Laughter and applause.]

"Now look on that picture and then on this." Hear the statesman and great lawyer talk and then witness the well paired twins, the demagogue and the murderer (*The Herald* speaking for Barksdale) exhibit themselves.

A REBEL'S SPEECH AT YAZOO.

SINGLETON, THE CONGRESSMAN, PUBLICLY APPLAUDS THE KILLING OF DIXON FOR POLITICAL CONVICTIONS—THE AUDIENCE WILD WITH DELIGHT.

[*By Telegraph to the Tribune.*]

WASHINGTON, Nov. 3.—Two or three weeks ago the announcement was received in a private letter from Yazoo that Representative Singleton, of Mississippi, justified the murder of Dixon by Barksdale, in a speech at Yazoo on the 11th of October. Up to this time no report of the speech has been received here. Probably no report has been printed. The following from *The Yazoo Herald*, however, fully confirms the fact of the speech, and indicates that at Yazoo, at least, a defence of Dixon's murderers is esteemed a vindication of the Democratic party.

His defence of the people who participated in the affair which occurred here on the 25th of July last, was manly, just and complete; and at this point the building fairly shook with the earthquake shout of applause that greeted him. He had struck the popular heart on the right key and it responded with the music of sympathy and appreciation. His speech was an able and eloquent vindication of the Democratic party, and it carried conviction to the minds of all who heard it, that he was eminently worthy of the respect and confidence of the people.

Mr. Singleton is best known to fame by his declaration in Congress two years ago, that he held the allegiance due to the State of Mississippi higher than that due to the United States.

Mr. Singleton was followed, at the meeting, by Major Ethel Barksdale, namesake and uncle of the Dixon murderer, and next to Jefferson Davis the most prominent candidate for the United States Senate to succeed Senator Bruce. Just what Major Barksdale said of the Dixon murder is not reported. Its tenor may be gathered sufficiently from the following comment by *The Yazoo Herald:*

He blistered from head to foot the miserable slanderers who thought it not unworthy of themselves to fill the Northern Republican press with false accounts of the affair which happened here on the memorable July day, 1879, and of the character of the men who composed that mob, as they were pleased to style it, that met here for a purpose which the best people in the land now indorse since they have been put into possession of the real facts in the case. The applause that welled up from the body of the great audience at these words showed how much in sympathy they were with the speaker."

Well might Mr. Evarts, looking at the condition of the country, and the character of the men who were seeking to gain control of its government, conclude his eloquent and patriotic speech as he did, thus:

"NO DEMOCRATIC PARTY REALLY LEFT.

But really one must come to this conclusion, that there is no Democratic party at all; that the only party in this country—and I regret to say it—that has a united counsel, a unity of purpose, a unity of future plans of its existence, a reason for that existence, and a rational appeal to the country to continue it in power, is the Republican party. [Applause.] I regret this very much. I regret it, I say because there should always be two great parties, sincere, strenuous rivals in the effort to serve the country, and in their appeals to the support of the country. But there is no Democratic party. Solon Chase ran away with it in Maine, General Butler in Massachusetts, Kearney in California [laughter]; it is beaten in

Ohio [cheers]; it is divided in New York. [Renewed cheers.] Why, where is the Democratic party? The last sign of death is that it has not been able to stand, even with the cohesion of public plunder divided among its members. [Laughter.]

What are their principles? What do they profess? They do not intend even to have a Democratic candidate for the Presidency next year for the ensuing term. The only candidate that is proposed is the one who has had the last term. [Laughter.] What do you think of carrying on a great country like this four years after 1880 on no more living, progressive, vivifying and exalting programme than that 'Fraud cannot be condoned' [laughter] after four years of meditation on that subject?

Now, when I remember the Democratic party as it used to be; when I remember how it defended the right of suffrage for the foreigner, for the poor, for the people; how it was ever the champion of its extension, of its protection; when I look upon what that party did for the country, and remember its brave face toward foreign nations and its willingness that the greatest power on earth should be engaged by us in war rather than that a poor sailor should be oppressed upon the high seas; and as I remember its stolid and cruel indifference to the oppression of millions of our countrymen on land, then I know what it has done for the name of free institutions; how it has enlarged our category; how it has maintained our flag; how it has done everything manfully—up to a certain point, however much others may have differed from them as to their duty to our country and their duty to humanity.

I may say, even in another sense, that there is no Democratic party. Why, look at their candidates! So unwilling are they to present themselves in their true character that they borrow flag candidates to run out at the masthead as decoys. The masked candidates conceal their front. They did not dare to make a headway in 1872, except under the mask of Horace Greely, and they must run up in Massachusetts the honored name of Charles Francis Adams; in New York they take from us Robinson and Bigelow; in Ohio, Ewing. Why, have they no loyal, pure men, that went through the war, shoulder to shoulder with Republicans, statesmen since the war, true to every principle of honor and generosity in politics? Why don't they put up some distinguished citizen that belongs to them to ask for the suffrages of their countrymen? It is because their heart will not allow them to do it; but they have got decoy flags that they can haul down, and masks that they can take off after the battle.

Now, gentlemen, when we contrast the Democratic party of the past with the Democratic party of the present, how does it stand the contrast? How tragic has been its fate! We are told in the Bible of the hard fate of a strong man who fled from a lion, and a bear met him, and he leaned his hand against a wall and a serpent stung him. As with this strong man so it is with the Democratic party. Fleeing from the lion of Northern loyalty it falls under the feet or into the embrace of the South, with its cruel claims, and leaning its hand against the strong wall of the Democracy of New York the serpent of Tildenism bit it [laughter]. I regret extremely that the claims of Southern statesmen and the estrangement of the Southern people, subjects so distasteful to a sober, satisfied and industrious people, should be forced again to the front. An earnest general concentration of public opinion over all the rest of the country must put down this agitation by

making it unprofitable in honor or prosperity to any political party, and showing that it disturbs the public peace. We must not be dragged through another twenty years of unequal contest, and we need not if we exercise our power. It is the duty of every honest American citizen to put the true interests of the country, so vast, so manifold, into the hands of honest statesmen who love peace and will pursue righteousness [Applause]. Without much delay this great people shall ' put on again its native hue of resolution and address itself to enterprises of great pith and moment.' " [Loud applause.]

Louisiana.

I must content myself with giving some facts taken from the records and published reports of committees of Congress, during the investigations of 1876–7, without comment. They need none from me.

Here are the instructions under which the Democratic ! ! clubs acted. The assassins construed these instructions liberally.

" CIRCULAR OF INSTRUCTIONS TO DEMOCRATIC CLUBS.

The following circular of instructions to Democratic clubs was issued about the time of the Democratic convention at Baton Rouge. It was published by the *Republican* of August 5th, and is reproduced as furnishing the key to the bloody events of the campaign just closed:

[Confidential.]

ROOMS DEMOCRATIC CONSERVATIVE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
ROOM No. 1, OVER COTTON EXCHANGE, NEW ORLEANS,
————, 187—.

" DEAR SIR,—In writing to you on the subject of the coming election we are animated by the same earnest desire which you, no doubt, feel to wrest the government of the State from the hands of the vandals who have for so long a time prostituted their usurped powers to strike down our liberties and destroy our prosperity. Every effort which we have made so far to shake off this fearful burden of Radical rule has failed. Another opportunity is offered us to rid ourselves of an evil which has become intolerable. To accomplish this object all Conservative citizens of this State should unite in a solid, compact body, and not only use every effort themselves, but urge upon every one within the range of their influence, to an earnest active participation in the present campaign, and to permit no local dissensions to distract them from the great work, which is the redemption of our State. No great object, such a we have in view, can be accomplished without zealous, persistent, vigilant and united action. Each man must feel that he has a mission, and that the result may depend upon his individual efforts; no one must imagine that the work will be done by some one else. All have an equal interest and all must contribute. This can only be effected by organization in each parish; organization so thorough and so complete as to embrace within it every honest man. All must be made to understand that whosoever is not for us is against us; that there can be no neutrality when such vital interests are at stake; that the responsibility of failure will rest upon those who are idle, discontented, or captious. Individual ambition, personal aspirations, and unworthy prejudices must be laid aside, so that, moved by a common patriotic impulse, all may be united for the common good.

As the central organization of the State, and upon which the people have conferred all the power we possess, we desire to propose, for the consideration of yourself and the Democratic-Conservative citizens of your parish, the character and working of such organizations as we think can be made effectual to achieve victory in the coming canvass.

First.—We suggest that your Executive Committee shall divide the parish into districts, by sections or townships, as you may deem best, to each of which there shall be assigned a director or directors, whose duty it shall be to canvass his or their district, and report to the parish committee the number and the names of those who inhabit it, dividing them into their political distinctions.

Second.—We recommend that in conversations with each other no gloomy forebodings shall be indulged in, and that the result of the coming election shall be spoken of as a foregone conclusion, as *we have the means of carrying the election, and intend to use them.* But be careful to say and do nothing that can be construed into a threat or intimidation of any character. *You cannot convince a negro's reason,* but you can impress him by positive statements continually repeated.

Third.—We recommend that clubs shall be formed in different sections of the parish, of which there shall be frequent meetings, and as often as may be convenient a central meeting of all the clubs. *That occasionally the ward clubs should form at their several places of meeting, and proceed thence on horseback to the central rendevous. Such meetings would tend to produce harmony, besides being an occasion for amusement and interesting ceremonies. Proceedings of this character would impress the negroes with a sense of your united strength.* They have been taught that they outnumber you; such meetings would convince them of their error.

Fourth.—It is of the last importance that every effort should be made to prevent fraudulent registration and repeating on the day of election. To accomplish that object, gentlemen of known integrity should be assigned carefully and constantly to watch the registration and to make affidavits concerning all irregularities or fraud. On the day of election several gentlemen should attend each polling precinct, and at the close of the day make a sworn return of the result, and forward the same to the State Central Committee, to be used as a check against fraudulent returns. This, together with the measures suggested in the first paragraph of this circular, will, to a great extent, insure a fair election.

Fifth.—We recommend that the names of the officers of each club and the numerical strength of the clubs shall be forwarded to this committee as soon as possible.

Sixth.—We recommend that on the day of the election, at each polling place, there shall be *affidavits prepared* to the effect that there has been no intimidation, and no disturbance on account of any effort by the Democratic Conservative party, to prevent any one from voting on account of 'race, color, or previous condition of servitude.' Should there be any disturbance, the affidavits made subsequently thereto should set forth its cause and origin.

Seventh.—We recommend that at every political meeting of the opposite party several gentlemen should *be present and take notes of the proceedings,* and especially of any threats on their part against the white people, or of any appeal, made to the negroes by any white man *of an incendiary character.*

By adopting the preceding suggestions our party will have a thorough organization, all the members of which will be knit together for a common object, and will

thus have a disciplined political body, moving with a fixed purpose over ground marked out and well known to certain victory. *There are some who will object to this plan as involving much trouble.* But recollect that nothing great can be accomplished without trouble, and that our object is to wrest the government of the State of Louisiana from an alien band of robbers, and restore it once more to the hands of her own people; to cause intelligence and virtue to resume their proper functions, and to eliminate from the body politic the effects produced by ignorance and vice. This committee pledges itself to an earnest, unselfish, and patriotic cooperation with each and every parish in the State to compass the great end.

In conclusion, we suggest that at least two delegates from each parish, properly accredited by their respective parish committees, should come to New Orleans and remain during the session of the Returning Board, to aid, with their knowledge of facts, the State Central Committee in preventing fraudulent returns by that board.

I. W. PATTON, *President.*

P. J. SULLIVAN, *Secretary.*"

And here is the harvest of death massed from obedience to these instructions:

"HISTORY OF FORMER ELECTIONS IN LOUISIANA.

For ten years violence, bloodshed, and murder have been habitually resorted to in Louisiana by the Democrats as a means of influencing elections.

In that time there have been ten great butcheries or massacres for political reasons. We will enumerate them and give the proof:

First.—In 1866, the massacre at Mechanics' Institute, in which over two hundred Republicans were killed in the streets and in that building. (See the Shellabarger Report to the House.)

Second.—In 1868, the St. Landry Parish massacre, during which from two to three hundred colored people were killed.

Third.—The Bossier Parish massacre, during which over two hundred colored people were killed.

Fourth.—The Caddo Parish massacre, in which over forty colored people were killed.

Fifth.—The St. Bernard Parish massacre, in which over one hundred colored people were killed.

Sixth.—The Orleans Parish massacres, in which over sixty persons were killed.

Seventh.—The St. Mary Parish massacre, in which the sheriff and parish judge, both Republicans, were publicly assassinated. (See the Stephenson Report to the House.)

Eighth.—In 1873, the Grant Parish massacre, in which over one hundred colored persons were killed. (See the Hoar Report to the House.)

Ninth.—In 1874, the Coushatta massacre, in which four persons were killed. (See the Hoar Report to the House.)

IN 1876.

Tenth.—In 1876, the Mount Pleasant massacre, in which over twenty persons were killed and wounded. (See testimony before Senator Howe's committee.)

Besides these massacres, the following prominent and active Republicans were assassinated during the same year and immediately prior to it:

In East Feliciana, John Gair, ex-Member of the House of Representatives, shot to death.

In Ouachita, Dr. B. H. Dinkgrave, Eaton Logwood and Henry Pinkston shot to death.

In Baton Rouge, William Y. Payne dragged by horses and shot to death.

In West Feliciana, Gilbert Carter and Isaac Mitchell shot to death.

In Red River, Senator Twitchell shot and mutilated and his brother-in-law, Mr. King, shot to death.

These murders have invariably been perpetrated immediately or almost immediately before a political campaign, or in the midst of it. Their result has also invariably been, by the fear, insecurity and terror occasioned thereby among Republicans, to largely decrease the Republican vote and as largely increase the Democratic vote. In 1868 the result was to drive from the polls about 50,000 Republican voters.

This systematic resort to violence and murder for political ends by the Democrats was the occasion of the enactment of the election law of 1870.

ELECTION LAW.

The object of that law was to create a tribunal which should have the authority, whenever an election in any precincts or parishes of the State had been rendered null by such violence and intimidation, to ascertain and declare that nullity, and to reject and refuse to count the so-called votes polled under the reign of such terror.

By this law five persons are made the returning officers for all elections in the State, a majority of whom constitute a quorum with power to act. *There are no returns, and can be none, of any election in Louisiana but the returns which these officers make.* The statements made by the Commissioners of Election who preside at the polls are not returns, nor are the statements of the parish supervisor, who consolidates the statements of the Commissioner, returns. These statements are simply the official and sworn evidence of the officers conducting the elections, which are sent up to the returning officers. These returning officers receive them, count them, compile them and canvass them, and make the final and only official account of the vote, and the final and only certificate of the result of that vote, which is called the return. In cases where violence and intimidation have rendered the election null, these returning officers are empowered by the law to inquire into and determine the results of such violence and intimidation, and if the same have nullified the election at any poll or precinct, to ascertain and declare that nullity, and when such nullity has been ascertained, the law commands them to reject and refuse to count the votes so made null and void.

THE CONSPIRACY.

It is true, and it is proven, that at the last election there was, in the seventeen parishes hereinafter named, a conspiracy to suppress, by force and violence, the Republican vote. That the means used for that end were night-riding, patrollings, whippings, shootings, hangings, burnings, mutilations, assassinations, murder and massacre.

That by this conspiracy from twelve to fifteen thousand Republican voters, who

were desirous of voting, and who made earnest efforts to vote the Republican ticket, were put in fear of their lives and driven from the polls and prevented from voting, and that by the same means from three to five thousand Republican voters were forced, against their will and from fear, to vote the Democratic ticket.

This conspiracy was carried out by armed bodies of men, known by the name given them by themselves, as bull-dozers.

The proofs of this conspiracy, as in evidence before the Senate Committee, are :

First.—The secret Patton letter.

Second.—The result of the vote, as shown by the tables of registration and election.

Third.—The fact that the persons composing the bull-dozers were all Democrats and white men, and the parties bull-dozed were all black men and Republicans.

Fourth.—The sudden and simultaneous outbreaks of this violence and murder before and near the election.

Fifth.—The conduct of the white communities where they occurred, in this:

These outrages were connived at and concealed by them.

They were secretly encouraged.

They made no attempt to discover and punish the criminals.

There has been no condemnation of these outrages by the press, by public meetings, or by the clergy, and the citizens who have ventured to denounce them have been menaced with proscription and persecution, and thus silenced.

The Democratic managers have falsely pretended that these outrages were not perpetrated, or when they have been compelled to admit them, they have falsely attributed them to the laxity of the local governments, although well knowing that the same terrorism which rendered these outrages possible rendered the local government powerless.

Sixth.—The fact that the effects of these outrages in intimidating the colored people were not confined to the parishes in which they were perpetrated, but spread to great distances in surrounding and neighboring parishes.

Seventh.—The fact that in the parish of East Feliciana, John Gair, an ex-Representative, and the ablest and most influential leader of the colored people, was kidnapped at night in the town of Baton Rouge, forty miles from his home, by a sheriff's posse, upon a false charge, wrung by torture from a poor and defenseless colored woman, of complicity in the poisoning of a man who was not poisoned, but is now alive and well, and who, while on his way in the custody of his captors, was forcibly taken from them by an armed company of bull-dozers, under the command of one Joe Norwood and Dr. Saunders, and tied to a tree by the roadside and shot to death. And, that this horrible and dastardly crime was committed by the Democrats from political animosities and to achieve political ends. And that all investigation into and inquiry after the perpetrators of this crime have been continuously and systematically discouraged and prevented by the white community of East Feliciana—and the only investigation made has been that made by the Senate Committee, and the Hon. Charles H. Joyce, Representative, upon the House Committee. (See testimony before Senator Howe's committee, and minority report of House committee, and speech of Hon. Charles H. Joyce.)

Eighth.—The fact that in the parish of Ouachita, shortly before the election, Dr. B. H. Dinkgrave, a white gentleman of high standing, irreproachable character, and great ability and influence among Republicans, who was the leader of the Republicans in that parish and their main dependence, was deliberately shot and killed in open daylight in the town of Monroe, by an assassin, who then rode deliberately away. The assassin has never been discovered, and it is in evidence before the Senate committee that this assassination was a political crime, committed for political reasons, and by Democrats, and was connived at and investigation stifled by the Democrats of that parish. And that the effect produced was to cause a thorough and widespread feeling of terror among all the Republicans of that parish, and to completely break up all political organizations among them.

Ninth.—The fact that in the parish of Red River, the shooting of Senator Twitchell and the murder of his brother-in-law, Mr. King, were crimes committed with like objects, by the connivance of the Democrats, and followed by the like results among Republicans as the assassination of Dr. Dinkgrave.

Tenth—The fact that in the Parish of Ouachita, the horrible murders of Eaton Logwood, James Jackson, Primus Johnson, Merrimon Rhodes and Henry Pinkston, were political assassinations of a like character with that of Dr. Dinkgrave, and followed by like political results, and were also accompanied by atrocities such as were calculated to and did spread a terrible fear and feeling of danger and insecurity among all Republicans in that and neighboring parishes, which lasts to this day.

Eleventh.—The fact that in the parish of East Baton Rouge, the horrible murder of William Y. Payne, who had a rope placed around his neck, and was dragged with horses until he was dead, and that of Jerry and Samuel Myers, were also political assassinations of leading colored people of a like character and with like effects to those above enumerated.

Twelfth.—The fact that in the parish of West Feliciana, the murder of Gilbert Carter, Isaac Mitchell and Edward Armstrong were also political murders of the same character and with like political results.

Thirteenth.—The fact that in the parish of East Baton Rouge, the massacre at Mount Pleasant, and the dispersal of a colored colony of industrious, sober and honest farmers, who were working the Triplett place, who were accumulating property, and who formed a social and political centre for the colored people of that part of the parish, was a hidious and dastardly crime, committed by white Democrats for political purposes. One revolting and hideous feature of this massacre, which distinguishes it from all others, is the fact in evidence before the Howe committee, that the sanguinary perpetrators of the crime pursued their victims even after death, and concocted and published a malicious lie, charging the negroes with having organized for the purpose of killing whites. (For proof of all the above-enumerated facts, see testimony before Senator Howe's committee.)

LIST OF POLITICAL MURDERS AND OUTRAGES BEFORE THE RECENT ELECTION.

The following is a partial list of the murders and outrages, and the names of the parties by whom committed, in four parishes only, as taken from the testimony before the Howe Committee. Similar crimes were perpetrated in fourteen parishes. Want of time prevented the committee from taking testimony in more than six parishes, we believe. In these it was not possible to obtain proof of all the murders and outrages, and out of this testimony we have only had the time to collate the facts relating to four parishes.

NUMBER OF MURDERS.

West Feliciana.

Gilbert Carter,
Isaac Mitchell.

East Feliciana.

Jerry Norman,
Joseph Johnson,
Samuel Smith,
Colored man, name unknown;
Full Nelson,
Colored man, name unknown;
John Gair,
Catharine Matthews,
P. Branch,
Three colored men, names not given;
Marshal Ryer,
Webster Dyer,
Two colored girls.
Colored boy, dragged to death at horses' tail.

NUMBER OF SHOOTINGS, WHIPPINGS AND OTHER OUTRAGES.

West Feliciana.

Five men discharged by William Ball.
Primus Pickett and Jupiter Jones, shot at.
Brent Laws and Marth Gray whipped.
One colored man whipped, name unknown.
William Butler, Andrew Jackson, Harrison Douglass, Alfred Morgan, James Williams, Daniel Perry, Kelly Martin, discharged for voting Republican ticket.
Sixty negroes discharged for voting Republican ticket.
Tom Rice and John Green, shot at.
Hung up, Riley Norfless.
Isaac Bissell, shot at.
John Harrison, assaulted with pistols.
L. H. Lewis, shot at.
Washington Spooner, threatened with death and driven from home.
Woodford Root, Jupiter Hunt, Demas Williams, whipped.
J. R. Watson, shot at and house burned.
William Jones and Aaron Cummings, driven into swamp.
James Smith, beaten over head.
Valentine Emery, prevented by pistols from distributing Republican tickets.
Andrew Young, driven from home.
L. T. Cotton, house broken open and driven from home.

East Feliciana.

Two hundred colored men fled parish.
Ezekiel Glover, whipped.
Colored woman, whipped nearly to death.
Jared M. Harrill, planter, threatened with hanging if he exposed perpetrators.
James Law, store set on fire.
Colored men driven to woods in large numbers.
Henry Smith, sheriff, shot at, and forced to resign.
Bob Keeler, Ellis Green, Jim Langston, Aaron Carey, woman, whipped.
Tucker, hung up.
Henry Lawson, whipped, 200 lashes.
William Chancy, hung up till he promised not to vote Republican ticket.
Charles Wilson and Aaron McKenzie, whipped.
Monroe Miles, taken out and threatened with death.

Austin Sloan, Henry Lawson, Dangerfield Sloan, Charley Williams, Allen Myers, whipped.

George Riley, assaulted and beaten.

Judge Dewing, court broken up, and compelled to leave parish.

Mrs. Perry, Joe Winham, James Lawson, Jack Dyer, William Glasper, whipped.

NAMES OF MEN PROVED TO HAVE COMMITTED OUTRAGES.

West Feliciana.

Court Smith,
Charles Barrow,
Jos. Stewart,
Napoleon Riddle,
Nelson Ball,
Joseph Edwards,
Robert Wilson,
Thos. West,
Robert Phillips,
Geo. Towns.
Calhoun Hamilton,
Herman Barrow,
Page Barrow,
Matt. Gilmore.
Will Gilmore.
Hugh Connello.
—— McDunner,
W. J. Ford.

East Feliciana.

Joe Norwood,
Bob McClellan,
J. W. Smith,
Rufus Breton,
Wm. Mapes,
Stanhope Cone,
Aug. Cane,
Frank Wood,
Dr. Saunders,
Lewis Moore,
Alick Skipwith,
Henry D'Armont,
George Anderson,
Bill Nulon,
Jimmy Jackson,
Aleck Zuggs,
John Zuggs.

MURDERS.

East Baton Rouge.

Jerry Myers, rope put around his neck, dragged a mile by horse, and then hung.

Samuel Myers,
Taylor Hawkins,
Geo. Washington,
Johnson Stewart,
Hugh Fugua,
Magee Selves,
Charley Robinson,
Bristow Harrison,
Henderson Pointer,
John Jackson,
Wm. Y. Paine,
Sanford Smith,
Paul Johnson,
Archie Stewart,
Joe Johnson,
L. Foster,
Bill Kidd,
Wilson Rhodes,
Henry Martin,
Monroe Beachman,
Lizzie Richmond—hung,
Andrew Isham,
George Wortryton,
Hudson Puritas,
Mrs. Spriggs.

WHIPPINGS AND OTHER OUTRAGES.

East Baton Rouge.

Alice Gilbert, rope put around neck, dragged on ground, house robbed and driven from home (page 1591, Howe's Report).

Benjamin Morgan, Coroner. Warned to hold no more inquests on pain of death.

Julius Williams, driven from home.

Jacob Shields, driven into swamps.

Laten Williams, house broken open, rope put around neck, dragged, beaten, and shot at.

Perry Jones, Abraham Straughter, Matt. Washington, shot at.

George P. Davis. parish judge, driven from parish.

Isadore Herron, whipped, rope around neck, and dragged.

Lewis Brown, whipped.

Alexander S. Gilbert, driven from home.

Paul Johnson, dragged by a rope.

Eight persons, and others, unarmed, compelled by force to vote Democratic ticket.

Reuben Delcomb, whipped and shot.

Ripley Williams, Matt. Dawson, George Simms, Alfred Abel, James Johnson, Wilby Bradford, and numerous others, driven from home.

Charley Wilson, Lewis Chapin, whipped.

Monroe Smith, whipped; 100 lashes.

Three others driven from home.

Five named and others, forced to vote against wishes.

Coleman Brown, shot.

Felix Jones, crop destroyed.

Harriet Bertain and ——— Bertain, shot at and house fired.

Lafayette McMurray and Richard McMurray, threatened and assaulted with pistols.

Lewis Morgan, shot at.

William Duplessis, driven to woods.

Phœbe Ann Wade, house broken open.

Peter Simms, driven to woods.

Lewis Gibson, whipped.

Gilbert Huston, John Lewis, driven from home.

Miranda Smith, wife of Sanford Smith, house broken open and whipped.

PERSONS PROVED TO HAVE COMMITTED OUTRAGES.

East Baton Rouge.

Henry Kerr,	George Kerr,
—— Watts,	Luke Carpenter,
A. L. Duncan,	Henry Carpenter,
Manny Carmina,	Pat Hood,
Henry Badley,	John Paine,
Shook Badley,	Thomas Brown,
Joe Brown,	Joe Monser,
W. Dougherty,	Oliver Hubbs,
S. Dougherty,	Phil. Brashears,
Charley Booth,	Eugene Offord,
Charley Griffith,	William Peake,
Randall White,	Joseph Edwards,
John W. Smith,	Buck Morgan,

R. H. McClellan,
Kerrys Catolic,
Venter Jones,
Hiram Carmina,
Ed. Davis,
George Jorr,
Gilbert Thomas,
Barney Williams,
Nathan Piper.

OUACHITA CASE.

Killed.

1. Dr. B. H. Dinkgrave, white, August 30, on public highway.
2. James Jackson, colored, September 15, on public highway.
3. Marriman Rhodes, colored, body found in Ouachita river.
4. Ferdinand Bynum, colored, body found in Ouachita river.
5. Henry Pinkston, colored, November 4, Island.
6. Infant child of Mr. and Mrs. Pinkston, colored, Island.
7. Primus Johnston, colored, October 10.
8. William Claret, colored, in Cottonport.

Wounded by Shooting.

1. Eaton Logwood, colored, October 10, in his own yard. Since died from his wounds.
2. Andrew McCloud, colored, September 4, near Morehouse parish line.
3. Henry W. Burrell, colored, public highway.
4. Spencer Dickerson, colored, public highway.
5. William Lewis, colored, public highway.
6. George Shelton, colored, public highway.
7. Eliza Pinkston, colored, November 4, at her home.
8. Benjamin James, colored, November 7, public highway.
9. Hawkins Jones, colored.
10. Solomon Mathews, colored.
11. Henry Forster, colored (see hung).

Hung.

1. Emanuel Richards, colored, Island
2. Henry Forster, colored, Island.

Whipped.

1. Randall Driver, colored, November 4, his place.
2. James H. Coleman, colored, November 4, Island.
3. Willis Fraizier, colored, reported, Island.
4. Abraham Williams, colored, November 4, Island.
5. Bryant Simms, colored, Colony.
6. Cora Williams, colored, November 4, Island.

Driven from Home.

1. Robert Long, colored, officer at Trenton.
2. Aaron Turner, colored, September 23, Island.
3. Ned Mitchell, colored, Island.
4. Andrew Harrison, colored, Island.
5. Frank May, colored, reported, Island.
6. Lee Poll, colored, Island.
7. Andrew, McCloud, colored, Island.
8. George Robertson, colored, Trenton.

9. Mahala Robertson, colored, Trenton.
10. Manual Richards, colored, September 22, Island.
11. Giles Roberts, colored, Island.
12. Jack Davis, colored, September 22, Island.
13. Oliver Dickerson, colored, Island.

House Shot Into.

1. J. W. Hudson, colored, member of police jury, near Monroe.
2. Nat Blanchford, colored, I. P. Claibornerow.

House Broken Into.

1. Randall Driver, colored, November 4, Island.
2. Eldridge Lockspur, colored, November 4, Island.
3. Solomon Mathews, colored, November 4, Island.
4. Henry Pinkston, colored, November 4, Island.
5. William Logwood, colored, November 4, Island.
6. Sebrum Robinson, colored, November 4, Island.

House Searched.

1. Eaton Logwood, colored, September 2 and 4, Island.
2. William Logwood, colored, November 4, Island.
3. Eldridge Lockspur, colored, November 4, Island.
4. Samuel Simms, colored, constable, Colony.
5. O. H. Brewster, white, November 6, Monroe.
6. Wally Moore, colored, November 4, Island.
7. Anthony Overton, colored, November 6, Monroe.

Threatened with Violence.

1. John McWilliams, colored, October 21, 22 and 23, Island.
2. Charles Hudson, colored, October 21, 22 and 23, Island.
3. Mark Moore, colored, October 21, 22 and 23, Island.
4. Aaron Jackson, colored, October 21.
5. Hawkins Jones, colored.
6. Nat Blanchard, colored, I. P. Claibournerow.
7. John Hill, colored.
8. Jack Clay, colored.
9. Lem. Jackson, colored, November 7, Monroe.
10. George H. Denton, colored.
11. John Toran, colored.
12. Frank Lushington, colored.
13. Eaton Logwood, colored.
14. B. H. Dinkgrave, white, corporate limit of Monroe.
15. Randall Driver, colored.

Compelled to Take Democratic Affidavits.

1. Felix McCloe, colored, I. P. Monroe.
2. I. R. Hall, white, I. P. C. Colony.

Interfered with and Molested on Public Highways.

1. Henry W. Burrill, colored, November 3, Cuba.
2. Elisha Moore, colored, November 3, Cuba.
3. R. J. Caldwell, white, November 6, near Chauran Bridge.
4. W. R. Hardy, white, November 6, near Chauran Bridge.

5. Simon Medlock, colored, November 6.
6. Steph. Wood, colored, November 7, officer, near Monroe.
7. Hermon Bell, colored, November 7, officer, near Monroe.
8. Dan. Hill, colored, November 7, officer, near Monroe.
9. Sam. Simms, colored, November 6, officer, Monroe.
10. Sam, Whitehead, colored, November 6, officer, Monroe.
11. Jesse Briggs, colored, November 6, officer, near Monroe.
12. Ben. James, November 7, officer, near Monroe.

Raped.

1. Cora Williams, colored, November 4, Island.
2. Eliza Pinkston, colored, November 3, Island.

Persons Shot At.

1. Henry Clay, colored, public highway.
2. Solomon Mathews, colored, Island.

PERSONS PROVED TO HAVE COMMITTED OUTRAGES OR TO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN ORGANIZATIONS THAT COMMITTED THEM.

Ouachita Parish.

Sam. McEnery.
Wm. Theobalds.
Dr. Crosby.
Jas. Logan.
Robt. Logan.
Walter Logan.
Dr. Young.
Frank Durham.
Thomas Lyons, col'd.
Geo. C. Phillips.
Thos. T. Aby.
Buck Boker.
Jos. T. Sevan.
Jno. Collins.
Dave Tidwell.
Bill Rhodes.
Joe Mitchell.
Bob Endom.
John Mills.
Jerry Mills.
Alex. Hamilton.
Geo. Russell.
Bill Collins.
Robt. Wilson.
Joe Turner.
Bill Bar.
Mr. Steele.
Dr. Kennedy.
Wyatt Brandon.
Joe Herron.
Isaiah Garrett.
P. Miller.
Capt. McLeod.
Capt. Cuffington.
Mr. McLane.
Bill Scriber.
F. Dunn.
D. T. Head.
Capt. Fred. Cann.
Harry Wilson.
John Scarborough.
Fennell McEnery.
James Mitchell.
Henry McEnery.
Will Howard.
H. M. Ball.
Jim Tombs.
Steve Grayson.
Frank Bryham.
Col. Brown.
Millard Parker.
Dan Whitfield.
—— Fitzgerald.
Capt. Renwick.
John Falk.
Pink Faust.
John Harvey.
Billy Pace.
Capt. Murphy.

These outrages were proved before the Sherman Committee, and afterwards fully corroborated before the Congressional Committees, with cross-examination. Democrats charged with these crimes failed to appear in any case before the Senate Committee and deny them. Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress have not pretended to deny these outrages nor their effect. The law of Louisiana allows proof, not only of violence on the day of election or during registration, but also of intimidation on those days resulting from previous violence.

EXTENT OF THE CONSPIRACY.

It is true, and is proved by testimony taken before the Sherman Committee and Howe Committee, that the following are the bull-dozed parishes, in which all or most of the Republican voters were by violence, outrage, murder and massacre, either driven from the polls and prevented from voting at all, or forced to vote the Democratic ticket:

East Baton Rouge.	Livingston.
East Feliciana.	Franklin.
West Feliciana.	Caldwell.
Ouachita.	Lafayette.
Morehouse.	Claiborne.
Richland.	DeSoto.
Grant.	Natchitoches.

It is true, and is proved by the official records in evidence before the Howe Committee, that the foregoing parishes had the following registration and cast the following vote in 1876:

	REGISTRATION.		VOTE.	
	Col'd.	White.	Rep.	Dem.
East Baton Rouge	3400	1867	1476	1102
East Feliciana	2127	1004	——	1736
West Feliciana	2213	399	778	1248
Ouachita	2392	992	793	1869
Morehouse	1830	938	782	1379
Richland	852	812	277	963
Grant	608	603	395	518
Livingston	197	800	121	769
Franklin	439	587	129	789
Caldwell	489	589	285	631
Lafayette	928	1351	658	721
Claiborne	1314	1602	432	1577
DeSoto	1694	1253	898	1304
Natchitoches	2955	1782	2099	1761
	21438	14579	9123	16367"

And here is Toombs on the negro in Georgia:

"TOOMBS TO THE GEORGIA LEGISLATURE.

The poor, ignorant negro—talk of him governing you and me! It takes the higher order of intellect to govern the people, and these poor wretches talk of governing us! My remedy helped us to break that up. We carried them with us by bribery and intimidation. I advised it, and paid my money for it. [Applause.] You all know it, but won't say it. * * * *

We got a good many honest fellows into the first Legislature, but I will tell you how we got them there. I will tell you the truth. The newspapers won't tell it to you. We got them there by carrying the black vote by intimidation and bribery [laughter], and I helped to do it!" [Applause.]

The South is solidly Democratic. Is it any wonder? This state of things was to be reformed under the "conciliation" government of Nicholls, and here are the results of Governor Nicholls' promised reforms, as given by H. C. (Mr. Carroll) of the *New York Times*, admitted by all to be one of the most impartial and correct, as well as one of the best, newspaper correspondents in the United States.

"FALSE TO SACRED PLEDGES.

FAIR PROMISES MADE ONLY TO BE BROKEN—WHAT THE DEMOCRATS OF LOUISIANA AGREED TO DO, AND WHAT THEY HAVE DONE—THE SCHOOL FUNDS SQUANDERED, THE TAXES MISAPPLIED, THE CAPITAL CITY FALLING INTO DECAY—WHY NEW ORLEANS IS NO LONGER PROSPEROUS.

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 21.—During the period that the State of Louisiana was governed by Republicans, a majority of the white people, business men and others, continually complained that the lack of prosperity which was then apparent on every hand was due entirely to 'the corrupt rule of irresponsible carpet-baggers.' It was freely charged by fair-minded conservative men, worthy of every attention, that the people were taxed beyond all endurance, that the taxes were greatly misapplied, that property-holders were being robbed right and left, their estates practically confiscated, and they with their families driven into the streets to beg or starve. Further than this, it was stated by Democratic speakers, and very generally believed by the white people, that the deplorable falling off in the value of houses and land which occurred soon after the war, was to be traced directly to the evil influences of 'radicals' and 'carpet-baggers.' If a man failed in business he blamed the Government; landlords who had houses and farms lying idle and unproductive upon their hands blamed the Government; if money was lost in stocks, the loss was at once attributed to the Government; and even when the sugar crop failed, it was not considered in the least ridiculous for planters to declare that, were it not for 'the thieving Radicals,' the result would have been different. In short, every ill which the people suffered was charged against the men who owed their power to the 'nigger vote.' Every observing and disinterested stranger who visited Louisiana during the six years prior to the last Presidential election knows that I in no way exaggerate the complaints which were then made by the people here. Such observers will remember, also, that at the time in question nearly all the leading white natives joined in declaring that if they could but rid themselves of 'the Radical Government,' could place the affairs of the State in the hands of men of their own choosing, 'representatives of the wealth and intelligence,' all the troubles under which they suffered would disappear. Under such a Government, under the rule of 'the native and best,' it was predicted that the State would literally blossom like the rose. It was declared that, could the Democrats but gain control, taxes would be reduced, the value of property enhanced, the laws respected and properly executed, the credit of the Commonwealth strengthened and extended, the value of Louisiana securities increased, business

made to flourish as it did before the war, and that abundant crops would bring wealth and happiness to a contented people. The prosperity was to be general, whites and blacks alike were to share in the great revival which was to come with the advent of Democratic government. Public water-works and drains on a colossal scale were to purify the City of New Orleans and render a recurrence of yellow-fever epidemic out of the question; the school fund was to be augmented and properly applied to the benefit of all the people, whether white or colored; the rights of the freedmen were to be respected, and the pay of laborers greatly increased. In a word, every happiness which it was possible for a people to have was to come to the citizens of Louisiana, could they but succeed in overthrowing the corrupt Radicals and placing representative Democrats in power.

These pleas, and others like them, were made so persistently and with so much eloquence, that thousands of people in the North, particularly business men who had dealings with Louisiana, began to believe that there must be some foundation for them, and so, when at last the long wished for 'day of redemption' arrived, when by the power of shot-guns and the 'policy' of President Hayes the State was made 'free' from 'carpet-bag government' and given over absolutely to the control of the Democrats, there was much satisfaction, not only in the South, but in many parts of the North as well. This new Government went into power with a grand flourish of trumpets. At the inauguration of Gen. Nicholls as the Democratic Governor of the State, he said, addressing the two Houses of his Legislature met in joint session:

I assume the duties of Governor of my native State under circumstances of marked difficulty, and at a period of very general distress. For nine years a few men, having no identification with the people of the State, either in feeling or interest, have shaped and controlled their destinies. The result of this unnatural condition of affairs has been that in spite of a rich soil, genial climate, and immense resources, we find the people to-day in wretchedness and slavery. The very gifts of a kind and beneficent Creator have served to these men as additional incentives to acts of oppression and wrong. * * * The material prosperity of Louisiana and the happiness of her people must be restored, and this can be accomplished by the truth and energy of the people, co-operating with honesty, fidelity, integrity and patriotism on the part of their representatives. Self must be sunk, and the general good alone can serve to guide the civil and political action of each citizen. Laws operating upon the whole people without distinction of race, class, color, or condition must alone be found in the statute-books, and these laws should be thoroughly, fairly and impartially executed. In this way confidence and hope will prevail, and the State will speedily become a home of happiness and peace for all her children—for the weak as well as the strong, the poor as well as the rich. The first object of all Government is to give the largest opportunity for development to the individual citizen. I shall devote every energy to this great work of restoration, and it shall be a great object of my administration to promote kindness, sympathy, confidence and justice between the two races that inhabit the soil, and who, with a common interest, should cordially co-operate to secure the common good.

These were fine words. They were supplemented a few days later by the most specific promises to the colored people in a letter addressed to a number of colored senators by Gov. Nicholls. In view of subsequent events, that letter is well worthy of reproduction at this time. It reads as follows:

New Orleans, Jan. 13, 1877.

Gentlemen,—I respectfully acknowledge receipt of your communication of this date, in which you ask me whether 'I will maintain, as Governor of Louisiana,

the equality of all men before the law, and use the influence of my administration to advance the educational, political and material interests and rights of the colored people, and protect them in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them by the recent amendments to the Constitution of the United States and the laws in pursuance thereof.' I answer these questions without the slightest hesitation. I have, as a candidate for the position of Governor, at all times and at all places, stated that I recognized each and every obligation incumbent upon me under the Constitution of the United States and of the amendments thereto, and the Constitution of Louisiana and the laws thereunder; that it would be my bounden duty to carry out faithfully and impartially the amendments to the Constitution as well as the original Constitution itself; that I recognize that all citizens, whether they be white or colored, should be equally entitled to the benefits and protection of the law; that I was utterly opposed to class legislation, and that any attempt to legislate so as to deprive the colored people of any of their rights under the Constitution of the United States and its amendments would meet my most determined opposition. As Governor, I make the same declarations. I will use my utmost endeavors as Governor, and with all the influence at my command as such, to promote the educational and material interests of the colored people precisely to the same extent that I will those of the white people. It will be my constant aim to promote kindness, sympathy, confidence and justice between the two races in the State.

FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS.

These and many other similar promises of Gov. Nicholls have been cordially and publicly endorsed by Mr. Wiltz, who is the present Democratic candidate for Governor, and by all the men prominent in his party. How have they been kept? As the record shows, they have been broken, every one of them. For a time Mr. Nicholls did, indeed, make an effort to live up to his pledges to the black men, but he was powerless against the influences of his party friends, and in his last annual Message, commenting upon the Tensas massacre, in which it is admitted that at least 20 inoffensive colored citizens lost their lives, he substantially admits that he has in some cases been powerless to keep the peace. He, Mr. Wiltz, and their Democratic associates, in the most solemn fashion, promised to protect the freedmen in their political rights. How have they done so? The fact that three Congressional districts in this State, which have undisputed negro majorities of from 4,000 to 8,000, are now represented by White League leaders is sufficient answer to the question. To-day, it is no exaggeration to say, that the colored citizens of Louisiana are, for all practical purposes, as far from the ballot-box as they were 20 years ago. They were to be protected in their material interests. How has the pledge been kept? In many of the remote parishes they have been so shamefully defrauded and maltreated by their employers that they have been forced to leave their homes and the sunny land they love so well and seek a dwelling-place in strange and far-distant places. In nine-tenths of this State the records of the courts will be searched in vain for a case in which a white man has been successfully prosecuted for having defrauded a negro.

Their educational interests were to be protected. In the most sacred way this promise was made to them. How has it been kept? To-day the public school system of Louisiana—the excellent system put into operation by 'the corrupt Radicals'—is, thanks to the Democratic and Roman Catholic manipulation, in the throes of dissolution. It is now confidently predicted here that in another year it will receive the *coup de grace*. Democratic Governments in the South have never been friendly to free education. How true this is of Louisiana may be inferred from the fact that the last census shows that there are in the State, outside of the

City of New Orleans, 115,000 white adults who neither read nor write, and that in many of the country parishes there are a majority of white adults illiterate to the same extent. Hardly had the present Democratic Government been inaugurated when the downfall of the admirable school system established by the Republicans was commenced. The school board of the city was at once given over to the control of the Roman Catholics. The Hon. Thomas J. Semmes, who was made its President, is a leading Jesuit, and a majority of its members are ardently its supporters in every effort to bring the schools as far as possible under the control of the Church. While they are engaged in this effort, Democratic politicians, to save money for their own purposes, have been actively attacking the system in another direction. One of the first steps taken by them when they came into power was to reduce the salaries of teachers 40 per cent., promising at the same time to pay the stipend which remained regularly in cash at the end of each month. Of course, this promise was only made to be broken. The School Board is now in arrears to teachers for every year of the existence of the present Administration. The salaries for September last have not yet been paid even in part; default of payment having been made in spite of the fact that within the past three weeks the City has received in cash $75,000 from other sources than the tax levy. The State now owes the School Board $67,000, which, in all probability it will never pay. So needy have the teachers become that they have asked the privilege of collecting a fee of $1 a month from each of their pupils. There is reason to believe that sooner or later they will be permitted to do so. The tax can easily be borne by the white people, but in a great many cases its imposition would result in keeping colored children out of the schools. Still further than this, should the new Democratic Constitution be declared adopted, as it doubtless will be at the coming election, the appropriation for public education will be cut down one-half. And this in the face of the fact that an education fund of over $1,000,000, given to the State by the Federal Government in public lands, has been either squandered or misappropriated.

But it is not the colored people alone who begin to see that there is little or no reliance to be placed in Democratic promises. Some of the white men are also waking up to the knowledge that a change of Government has not brought them all the happiness they anticipated. The fact is, and I make the statement after careful inquiry among all classes of citizens, that the people of Louisiana are not now materially as prosperous as they were under the rule of the much-abused Governor Kellogg. It is true that the taxes have been reduced a few mills; but to make up for this reduction, assessments have been increased and the bondholders so swindled that the State is to-day absolutely without credit in the markets of the world. Nor has the fictitious decrease in taxes enhanced the value of property. On the contrary, now more than ever before, real estate is a drug in the market, and before the Democratic courts there are pending to-day 50,000 suits to recover for the State taxes which cannot be collected. Three years ago a gentleman of my acquaintance in one of the near parishes bought a plantation for $72,000, a bargain, as he thought. This, it will be remembered, was while the Republicans were in power. To day, under the government of the much lauded Democracy, the plantation in question is offered for sale at $50,000, and finds no purchasers. Nor is this an isolated case. If necessary, many more of the same sort might be cited. What is true of the country is true of the city also. It is almost impos-

sible to dispose at a fair price of even the most eligible real estate. The wave of prosperity which has begun to sweep over the rest of the country has not yet been felt here. Business men, shop-keepers, and people of all sorts who live by trade complain as they never complained before. In the most prominent thoroughfares of New Orleans stores have for months been idle, and grass is literally growing high in the streets. Further than this, the many promises of public improvements made by the Government have been broken with very much the same disregard of consequences which has characterized the dealings of the Democratic leaders with the negroes. As far as can be seen, the taxes are even more shamefully misappropriated than they were claimed to have been under the Republicans. The streets of the city are shamefully neglected, and in the country the roads and bridges are in a much worse state of decay than they were three or four years ago. Of the great drains and other public work which were to rid the city of all danger from yellow fever, there has been heard not one word. Indeed, it was owing to the culpable carelessness of the Democratic officers, as many people claim, that the devastating epidemic of last year occurred. However this may be, and though the comparison may not be a fair one, it is a very significant fact that during the rule of the Republican Health Officer the city was almost entirely free from yellow fever. In short, and to sum up, the people of Louisiana, white and black, are to-day under the government of the Democracy, in a much worse condition materially and financially than they were three years ago under 'the corrupt Radicals.' There are many who would have the country believe that this deplorable result has been directly brought about by the short-sighted selfishness of those who now hold political power. So far as the condition of the colored people is concerned, this view of the case is to a very large extent a just one. It is not fair, however, to attribute the lack of prosperity which prevails to any Government or to any political party. It is ridiculous to hold William Pitt Kellogg responsible for the decline in the real estate; it is equally ridiculous to charge Francis T. Nicholls or his Government, weak and vacilliating though he has been, with driving business away from the cotton factors and commission merchants of New Orleans. The falling off in values and in business is due entirely to natural causes, to the diversion of trade caused by the construction of new routes of travel, to the establishment of new distributing points in the West, and to the change in the relations of labor and capital which have occurred since the war. New Orleans is no longer able to control the trade of the Mississippi Valley. The greater part of that trade has been diverted to other channels, and will never come back to this city. The sooner the people of Louisiana's capital become alive to this fact, and to the further one, that their colored laborer is not only worthy of his hire, but that he must be treated as a citizen of the country and a political equal—the sooner they learn these truths, get out of old ruts, seek new enterpises, and go to work with an energy and uncomplaining determination to succeed which is characteristic of business men in other parts of the country, the sooner they will find that substantial prosperity which can be bestowed by no political party and which is never won by lazy fault-finding. H. C."

The consequences of this policy of barbarism of the poor creatures who suffered; who were its immediate victims, none but those victims and God can ever know.

Is it any wonder that the exodus followed ? For the facts in detail of this sad chapter in the social and political history of the country I must refer the reader to the recent investigation of the Senate Committee as appointed on the motion of Senator Voorhees. Neither his report as chairman nor the minority report of Senator Windom is before me, and I could not use them if they were. The limits of this little text-book does not allow it.

We know, however, the grand facts. People do not become voluntary exiles from the homes of their childhood and their ancestry without a cause. And when we see in bleak November and December the banks of the Mississippi thronged with fleeing exiles from their country, and denied even the poor privilege of going by the ordinary modes of travel; when we see strong but hungry men who have been robbed of the fruits of their season's labor; shivering children and women with their babes in their arms fleeing from the horrors of Klu-Kluxism, as did the mothers of Bethlehem from the terrors of Herod, it behooves us as the keepers of this grand inheritance of liberty to look to it, not to pause and ponder over, or pray over it—pray for mercy to enter the heart of the Klu-Klux and bread for the poor wronged victims?—but to look it straight in the face as the soldiers were wont to do during the war when they knew something hotter than hot coffee was coming, and turned one to the other remarking, "business boys." If we do not we may some day be asked, not by divine lips either, where are those men that you took out of bondage and signed a bond in your father's blood as guarantee of those rights. Don't deceive yourselves, my fellow citizens, you cannot answer that question to the civilized world by putting in Cain's plea: "Am I my brother's keeper ?"

But then we will be at once told that this condition of things is necessary to the success of the Democratic party; that that party must get into power in order to make it certain that there shall be "no troops at the polls." It is in fact as it was in the old slave days. The same "irrepressible conflict." It has come to this that the Democratic party and the Union cannot stand together, and that being the case, I for one say, if the Democratic party and the Union cannot stand together, then in Gods name, let the Democratic party go down and the Union stand.

This brief sketch of the Solid South and the zeal and readiness with which the Northern Democratic Senators follow the lead of their Southern masters, would be incomplete without the following exhibit of their present attitude and feeling towards what are known as the Civil Rights Amendments to the Constitution, namely: the XIII, XIV, and XV.

On the 7th of January, 1879, the distinguished Senator from Vermont, who is ever at his post and always in the right, introduced the following resolutions in the Senate:

"*Resolved, as the judgment of the Senate,* That the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States have been legally

ratified, and are as valid and of the same paramount authority as any other part of the Constitution; that the people of each State have a common interest in the enforcement of the whole Constitution in every State of the Union, and that it is alike the right and duty of Congress to enforce said amendments and to protect every citizen in the exercise of all the rights thereby secured by laws of the general character already passed for that purpose, and by further appropriate legislation, so far as such enforcement and protection are not secured by existing laws; and that it is the duty of the executive department of the Government faithfully and with diligence to carry all such laws into impartial execution, and of Congress to appropriate all moneys needful to that end.

Resolved, further, That it is the duty of Congress to provide by law for the full and impartial protection of all citizens of the United States, legally qualified, in the right to vote for Representatives in Congress, and to this end the Committee on the Judiciary be, and it hereby is, instructed to prepare and report, as soon as may be, a bill for the protection of such rights, and the punishment of infractions thereof."

For nearly a month, on various days when these resolutions were called up, the Democrats in the Senate sought by all sorts of parliamentary tactics, such as amendments, motions to indefinitely postpone, etc., to avoid a vote on them. But they could not escape the watchfulness of "the Cato of the Senate" (as Mr. Edmunds has been recently designated by a warm and distinguished friend of his) by these by-paths, and on the 5th of February, Mr. Edmunds succeeded in getting a direct vote on the resolutions, and taking the vote on each separately, the yeas and nays being called.

Here is the vote on the first resolution:

"The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 16; as follows:

YEAS—23.

Anthony,	Edmunds,	Kirkwood,	Plumb.
Booth,	Ferry,	McMillan,	Rollins,
Bruce,	Hamlin,	Mitchell,	Spencer,
Burnside,	Hoar,	Morrill,	Teller,
Cameron of Pa.,	Howe,	Oglesby,	Windom.
Cameron of Wis.,	Kellogg,	Paddock,	

NAYS—16.

Bailey,	Coke,	Gordon,	Kernan,
Bayard,	Davis of West Va.,	Harris,	Lamar,
Beck,	Eaton,	Hereford,	Morgan,
Cockrell,	Garland,	Hill,	Voorhees.

ABSENT—37.

Allison,	Dennis,	McPherson,	Sharon,
Barnum,	Dorsey,	Matthews,	Shields,
Blaine,	Eustis,	Maxey,	Thurman,
Butler,	Grover,	Merrimon,	Wadleigh,
Chaffee,	Ingalls,	Patterson,	Wallace,
Christiancy,	Johnston,	Randolph,	Whyte,
Conkling,	Jones of Florida,	Ransom,	Withers."
Conover,	Jones of Nevada,	Sargent,	
Davis of Illinois,	McCreery,	Saulsbury,	
Dawes,	McDonald,	Saunders,	

And here is the vote on the second :

"YEAS—22.

Anthony,	Ferry,	McMillan,	Rollins,
Bruce,	Hamlin,	Mitchell,	Spencer.
Burnside,	Hoar,	Morrill,	Teller,
Cameron of Pa.,	Howe,	Oglesby,	Windom.
Cameron of Wis.,	Kellogg,	Paddock,	
Edmunds,	Kirkwood,	Plumb,	

NAYS—17.

Bailey,	Davis of W. Va.,	Hereford,	Morgan,
Bayard,	Eaton,	Hill,	Voorhees.
Beck,	Garland,	Kernan,	
Cockrell,	Gordon,	Lamar,	
Coke,	Harris,	Maxey,	

ABSENT—37.

Allison,	Dawes,	McDonald.	Sharon,
Barnum,	Dennis,	McPherson,	Shields,
Blaine,	Dorsey,	Matthews,	Thurman,
Booth,	Eustis,	Merrimon,	Wadleigh,
Butler,	Grover,	Patterson,	Wallace,
Chaffee,	Ingalls,	Randolph,	Whyte,
Christiancy,	Johnston,	Ransom,	Withers."
Conkling,	Jones of Florida,	Sargent,	
Conover,	Jones of Nevada,	Saulsbury,	
Davis of Illinois,	McCreery,	Saunders,	

Make your own comments. For myself, I am a good deal in the fix of the old man who, going up hill with a wagon load of apples, had the tail-board burst out and the apples go flying or rolling down the hill. He was silent. He couldn't do the subject justice, and he wasn't particularly pious either.

And yet the Southern rebels and Northern Copperheads are all for the Union and the Constitution, "for the old flag, and an appropriation." And they have a Union soldier!! for their candidate. Don't you suppose old Oliver Cromwell turned in his coffin, and tore his shroud a little, when he heard of the treachery of General Monk?

The Copperheads had a standing cry during the war—"The Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was;" but the poor old Union wouldn't "was" worth a cent till the calm broad brow of Grant confronted its enemies at Appomattox, and laid them out forever.

PART VII.

The Democratic Party, by the late Zachariah Chandler.

The most fitting close to this little compilation is the speech of the late and lamented Senator Chandler, delivered in the Senate on the 30th of June, 1879. He said:

"Mr. President: Whether the resolution to adjourn, passed by the House, is acted upon to-day or not, is immaterial. We have now spent three months in this Capitol, not without certain results. We have shown to the people of this nation just what the Democratic party means. The people have been informed as to your objects, ends and aims. By fraud and violence, by shot-guns and tissue ballots, you hold a present majority in both houses of Congress, and you have taken an early opportunity to show what you intend to do with that majority thus obtained. You are within sight of the promised land, but, like Moses of old, we propose to send you up into the mountain to die politically.

"Mr. President: We are approaching the end of this extra session, and its record will soon become history. The acts of the Democratic party, as manifested in this Congress, justify me in arraigning it before the loyal people of the United States on the political issues which it has presented, as the *enemy of the nation*, and as the author and abettor of rebellion.

"*First.*—I arraign the Democratic party for having resorted to revolutionary measures to carry out its partisan projects, by attempting to coerce the Executive, by withholding supplies, and thus accomplishing by starvation the destruction of the Government, which they had failed to overthrow by arms.

Second.—I arraign them for having injured the business interests of the country by forcing the present extra session, after liberal compromises were tendered to them prior to the close of the last session.

Third.—I arraign them for having attempted to throw away the results of the recent war by again elevating State over National sovereignty. We expended $5,000,000,000 and sacrificed more than three hundred thousand precious lives to put down this heresy and to perpetuate this *national life*. They surrendered this heresy at Appomattox, but now they attempt to renew this pretension.

Fourth.—I arraign them for having attempted to damage the business interests of the country by forcing silver coin into circulation, of less value than it represents, thus swindling the laboring man and the producer, by compelling him to accept eighty-five cents for a dollar, and thus enriching the bullion owners at the expense of the laborer. Four million dollars a day is paid for labor alone, and by thus attempting to force an eighty-five cent dollar on the laboring man you swindle him daily out of $600,000. Twelve hundred million dollars are paid yearly for labor alone, and by thus attempting to force an eighty-five cent dollar on the laboring man you swindle him out of $180,000,000 a year. The amount which the producing class would lose is absolutely incalculable.

Fifth.—I arraign them for having removed without cause experienced officers and employees of this body, some of whom served and were wounded in the Union

army, and with appointing men who had in the Rebel army attempted to destroy this Government.

Sixth.—I arraign them for having instituted a secret and illegitimate tribunal, the edicts of which have been made the supreme governing power of Congress in defiance of the fundamental principles of the Constitution. The decrees of this junta are known, although its motives are hidden.

Seventh.—I arraign them for having held up for public admiration that arch rebel, Jefferson Davis, declaring that he was inspired by motives as sacred and as noble as animated Washington; and as having rendered services in attempting to destroy the Union which will equal in history Grecian fame and Roman glory. (Laughter on the Democratic side and in portions of the galleries.) You can laugh. The people of the North will make you laugh on the other side of your faces!

Eighth.—I arraign them for having undertaken to blot from the statute-book of the nation wise laws, rendered necessary by the war and its results, and insuring 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' to the emancipated freedmen who are now so bull-dozed and ku-kluxed that they are seeking peace in exile, although urged to remain by shotguns.

Ninth.—I arraign them for having attempted to repeal the wise legislation which excludes those who served under the rebel flag from holding commissions in the army and navy of the United States.

Tenth.—I arraign them for having introduced a large amount of legislation for the exclusive benefit of the States recently in rebellion, which, if enacted, would bankrupt the National Treasury.

Eleventh.—I arraign them for having conspired to destroyed all that the Republican party has accomplished. Many of them breaking their oaths of allegiance to the United States, and pledging their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors to overthrow this Government, they failed, and thus lost all they pledged. *Call a halt.* The days of vaporing are over. The loyal North is aroused and their doom is sealed.

I accept the issue on these arraignments distinctly and specifically before the citizens of this great Republic. As a Senator of the United States, and as a citizen of the United States, I appeal to the people. It is for those citizens to say who is right and who is wrong. I go before that tribunal confident that the Republican party is right and that the Democratic party is wrong.

They have made these issues, not we, and by them they must stand or fall. This is the platform which they have constructed, not only for 1879 but for 1880. They cannot change it, for we will hold them to it. They have made their bed, and we will see to it that they lie thereon."

I submit this pamphlet with the hope that, in the hands of public speakers on the Republican side in this campaign, it will meet a want that I have felt, in common with others, in political campaigns which I have been in pretty steadily ever since 1854, when the great battle against Slavery and Southern Olligarchy began in earnest. It is intended to relieve the weary speaker to some extent from carrying, and trying to "read as he runs," armfuls of speeches, documents and newspapers, and to place within his reach a ready

and reliable reference to the topics he may choose, and sometimes without choice, be obliged to discuss. I have endeavored to keep myself out of sight as much as possible, and omitted many things that I hope to say orally before the fight closes. For I believe in stated preaching at irregular periods. What we all have to do now is to work and vote; vote for men representing the principles we believe to be the best for the country and for man.

After a masterly exposition of the right of suffrage, its enjoyment and the obligations it brings with it, here is what Mr. Evarts says as to its practical use and exercise, in his Cooper Institute speech of last year, from which I have already quoted:

"OBJECTIONS TO THROWING AWAY VOTES.

You may very well understand, gentlemen, that a people having this attachment to suffrage, and this intelligence of its vital importance, don't like very well, when election day comes to throw it away. They don't like very well to see any of their neighbors throw it away. They don't like very well to see any other of their countrymen jostled and hustled at the polls, so that they can't exercise the suffrage; and so, when it comes to be a practical question, you find the strong sense of the American people requiring a very good account from any citizen who thinks it worth his while to stay away from the polls, or to vote so that his vote won't count. [Applause and laughter.] It is bad enough to have to vote under circumstances where your vote won't be counted [laughter], but it is a great deal worse to vote where your vote can't count at all. [Applause.] Well, now, gentlemen, we don't vote in the air. We don't vote for abstract principles. We don't even vote whether the Republican party, or the Democratic party, or the Greenback party shall be uppermost in this country. The only way that we vote is to vote for some candidate that represents the party that we want uppermost [applause], and the principles and measures and policies which we want engrafted upon the political action of the Government; and the only way we can do that is by voting for some candidate that is produced in the methods of our politics for the suffrages of his fellow-citizens.

Well now, the law and the Constitution, as I have said, regulating the ballot and the suffrage, who shall regulate this preliminary process of selecting and presenting candidates who are to embody principles and be the vehicle through which the will of the people in regard to the policies and measures and principles of the Government shall be effectively carried out? Well, gentlemen, there is the puzzle, and there we have the criticisms, friendly and unfriendly, of the system of Civil Service reform; and then we have intermediate between the presentation of candidates and the deposit of votes, agitations of private conscience and of private interest, as to whether or no there is that conformity between the candidate and principles and the purposes and policy which the voters desire to see observed. Well, it is the duty of every convention, and should be their highest art as well, to impersonate the principles of a party in candidates who would give the best assurance of the purposes of the party being carried out by their election, and the best assistance in conciliating and attracting votes to enlist in that object; and it may be said in general, I suppose, that that is the purpose of conventions, and that that in general is the successful result, leaving always some regret

that some one else is not nominated, and an internal conviction in many minds that if they could have had their own way in the matter it would have been infinitely better for the American people. [Applause.]

Now, when names do not wholly comport with the private judgment of this or that citizen as to what would have been the best impersonation of the principles, and purposes of the party, what is the voter to do? Why do as every sensible man does when placed in a situation where action one way or the other is to be taken—give to the leading principle and the leading interest the determination of what he shall do. If anybody does not think that the maintenance in power of the Republican party in the councils and authority of the Nation is an important thing, let him deposit his vote upon some lesser consideration. [Laughter.] If he does not think it of any importance whether Mr. Cornell [applause], or Mr. Robinson, or Mr. Kelly is fit to be Governor of the State of New York, why let him vote for all these, and his ballot will be thrown out. [Laughter.] If you do not think that it is of any importance next year how the State of New York goes this year, why then vote in the air, but never lose sight of this general duty, which never can be safely neglected. If any Republican voter thinks he can serve his party better now and better in the future by voting for Governor Robinson or for Mr. Kelly, in God's name let him do so. [Applause.] If he thinks that the best thing he can do with this precious gift of the suffrage, given to him for his own right, and as a trust for all this country all over it, if he thinks that the best thing for him to do with that precious trust is to fold it away in a napkin, let him be sure that when disasters come he has nothing to answer for, that his conscience will excuse him then for a deserted duty."

I commend these words of wisdom and practical good sense to Republicans everywhere, East, West, North and South. Let us have no "voting in the air." Rally, boys, once more for the Union and the *whole* Constitution; for Garfield, Arthur and victory. Do this, and victory certainly awaits us on the 2d of November. Let us have a Nation, realizing Whittier's hope that:

> " Wheresoe'er our destiny sends forth
> Its widening circles to the South or North,
> Where'er our banners flaunts beneath the stars,
> Its mimic splendors and its cloud-like bars,
> There shall Free Labor's hardy children stand
> The equal sovereigns of a Freeman's land."

APPENDIX.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republican party, in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration. It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed four million human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from $700,000,000 to $1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were $20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were $264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually more than $30,000,000 for pensions. It has paid $880,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly $151,000,000 to less than $89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished

by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already so great should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law and not a mere contract; out of Confederate States it made a sovereign nation; some powers are denied to the nation while others are denied to States, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not the State tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States; and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the Legislature of each State, and also to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should be discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or corporation; that Slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity—polygamy—must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption. That we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the hour of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. Their perpetual honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people; we welcome in the benefits and privileges of our free institutions all those who seek their enjoyment and are willing to assume the obligations while they participate in the benefits of American citizenship. The influx to our shores of hordes of people who are unwilling to perform the duties of the citizen, or to recognize the binding force of our laws and customs, is not to be encouraged; and believing that respectful attention should be paid to evils complained of by our brethren on the Pacific coast, we urge the renewed attention of Congress to this important question, and suggest such changes of our existing treaty obligations as will remedy these evils.

6. That the purity and patriotism which characterizes the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessor to him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as chief executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just and conscientious fulfillment of the public business, and will honor his interpositions between the people and proposed partisan laws.

7. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage; that to obtain

possession of the National and State governments and the control of place and position, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage; have devised fraudulent certifications and returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movements of government depends; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principle and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably good results—freedom and individual equality; and we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be practicable; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country, at this time to surrender the administration of the National government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The Convention at Cincinnati adopted unanimously the following declaration of principle:

The Democrats of the United States in Convention assembled declare:

First.—We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party as illustrated by the teaching and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party.

Second.—Opposition to centralizationism and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of Government, a real despotism; no sumptuary laws; separation of church and State for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

Third.—Home rule; honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith—consisting of gold and silver and paper, convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and National, and a tariff for revenue only.

Fourth.—The subordination of the military to the civil power, and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

Fifth.—The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

Sixth.—The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy mar-

shals to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insults the people and imperils their institutions.

Seventh.—The great fraud of 1876–'77, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and for the first time in American history the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative Government. The Democratic party, to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880. This issues precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of freemen.

Eighth.—We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

Ninth.—The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality and adorning and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

Tenth.—Free ships and a living chance for American commerce on the seas and on the land. No discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

Eleventh.—Amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more Chinese immigration except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

Twelfth.—Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

Thirteenth.—The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

Fourteenth.—We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditures $40,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad, and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

GENERAL JAMES A. GARFIELD.

It is no part of the plan of this hand-book to give any extended biography of the candidates, as these will, no doubt, be furnished in abundance by the National Committees. A brief notice, however, seems not out of place.

General Garfield was born in the village of Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in November, 1831, and will, consequently, be, at the time of his election to the highest office in the gift of his countrymen, Forty-nine years old.

In 1861, when the Rebellion broke out, he was serving as a Senator in the Legislature of his native State. He instantly determined to enter the army, and on the 14th of August, 1861, was commissioned Lieut.-Colonel of the forty-second Ohio.

His service was with that splendid army, the Army of the Cumberland, with which he remained until after the battle of Chicamauga, and by that time Garfield had attained the rank of Major-General, his last promotion being for gallant and heroic conduct on the bloody field of Chatanooga. This promotion to the highest field rank within the space of two years is enough to fix his record, and a glorious one it is, as a soldier.

He was equal to every occasion, and the occasions were of the grandest and most trying. I think the records of the war will show no instance of a young man without any previous military training or education who displayed more wonderful military capacity, with the single exception of General John A. Logan, who is a born soldier and a great commander by nature.

A year before he left the army, and without solicitation on his part, General Garfield was elected to Congress, to fill the place made vacant by the death of the illustrious Joshua R. Giddings. He has been in the House of Representatives continuously ever since, and that he has been able to fill a place occupied so long by his great predecessor, to gain distinction in that place, and to stand to-day as he does, the peer of any man on the floor of the House as a prudent and profound statesman and orator, and among the first of parliamentary leaders, is record enough for any man, and it may be added that, in the Senate, which he would by right enter on the day that he will be inaugurated President of the United States, he would meet with but few superiors in the qualities I have just referred to.

The best biography of Gen. Garfield that I have ever seen is Mr. Whitelaw Reid's, in his first volume of "Ohio in the War," and all the better because it is not written for the present occasion. It ought to be published by the Republican Committee and scattered broadcast throughout the country.

GENERAL CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

The Successor of Wheeler as Vice-President.

General Arthur, of New York, our candidate for Vice-President, I never saw but once, and he then impressed me as a cultured, quiet, modest gentleman, with a remarkable capacity for general business, and he has shown to the country since that time (1872) that he has an equal capacity for public affairs. He is now, as near as I can figure from dates before me, about fifty years old, of commanding presence, and with a look and expression that in a moment inspires you with respect and liking for the man. The following slip, taken from the New York *Times* of the 1st of January, 1880, gives a better pen-portrait of the General than anything I could say, and I applaud it the more cheerfully because it was written when neither General Arthur nor his friends thought of him in connection with his present position:

"IN POLITICS YEARS AGO.

In these later days, people, even the men who are most intimately connected with politics, and who take a most active part in political discussions—at least those of the younger generation—have but little idea of the intensity, warmth and excitement which marked such controversies in the past. During the days of Jackson and Clay even the boys bore a share in the hickory-pole raisings for the one, or the ash-pole raisings for the other, and it is a matter of record that during such ceremonies fierce fights, which often resulted seriously, occurred even among the children. Such a battle marked the advent of Chester A. Arthur, as well as of many other prominent New York Republicans, into politics. It was in a country village in the interior of the State, during the memorable campaign which resulted in the success of Polk over Clay, that the boys of Whig parentage determined in honor of 'Harry, the hero,' to raise an ash-pole. While they were engaged in doing so they were set upon by a number of the lads of the Democratic 'Pork and Dollars' persuasion, and for a time it seemed as if their pole would be taken possession of by the enemy. Even while the battle was at its height, however, young Arthur, placing himself at the head of his companions, led one desperate charge upon the followers of Polk, drove them from the field with broken heads and disfigured faces, and then, amid shouts of applause from the older spectators, who hugely enjoyed the sport, raised the ash-pole to the honor of Harry Clay and the Whig Party. Commencing thus early—he was only about fourteen years of age at the time of this occurrence—to take part in political affairs, and being from childhood up admonished that no good thing could come out of the Democracy, young Arthur naturally, when the time came, took warm sides with every movement which promised to break down slavery—the corner-stone of Democracy.

At an early age entering the law office of E. D. Culver, who has been called 'one of the original emancipation lawyers,' he was not long in imbibing an abhorrence for everything which smacked of bondage. It was his good fortune—at

first in connection with Mr. Culver, and afterward upon his own responsibility—to be connected with the memorable Lemmon Slave Case, which a quarter of a century ago created the most unbounded excitement, not only in this State, but throughout the Union; which called forth special messages from the governors of two States, and which, all things considered, was one of the most remarkable, as well as most momentous, legal contests ever tried in this country."

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"A MEMORABLE LAWSUIT.

The history of this then most important, though now almost forgotten, case is deeply interesting. It seems that in November, 1852, Jonathan Lemmon and Juliet, his wife, both of whom had before that time been citizens and residents of the slave State of Virginia, determined to take up their residence in Texas, also a slave State, and with eight black people—their chattels—passed by way of steamer from Norfolk to New York, their intention being to remain in this City until it became possible for them to secure a suitable vessel on which to continue their journey to Texas. On arriving in New York they took up their residence in a hotel, and their eight slaves were landed and conveyed to a boarding house at No. 3 Carlisle street. While in this place they were discovered by a colored man familiarly named 'Louis Napoleon'—a man of no education, but of considerable force of character, and who, by his connection with the case, was destined afterward to become famous throughout the country. This man—whether acting upon his own responsibility or with the aid and encouragement of other persons to this day remains in doubt—knowing of the condition of the eight Lemmon slaves, and being informed that the laws of the State of New York permitted no human being to be detained in a condition of slavery, caused a petition to be presented to Elijah Paine, then one of the Justices of the Superior Court of the City of New York, for a writ of *habeas corpus* to compel the production of the colored people before him, and an inquiry into the causes of their detention. The petition set forth, in substance, that eight colored people—two men, two women, and four children—'without being detained by any process issued by any court of the United States, or by any judge thereof—without being committed or detained by virtue of a final judgment or decree of any competent tribunal of civil or criminal jurisdiction, or by virtue of any execution issued upon any such judgment or decree'—were virtually held prisoners in the City of New York. It was also set forth that the cause or pretense of such detention or restraint was that the persons so restrained were held under the plea that they were slaves, and that from their place of confinement they were to be conveyed by negro traders to Texas, where they were to be sold and reduced to a condition of slavery. It was further alleged that such detention of these persons for such purposes within the limits of the free Commonwealth of New York was diametrically at variance with the letter and spirit of the laws of the Empire State, and the petitioner prayed that a writ of *habeas corpus* be directed to those having the negroes in their custody, commanding them to bring the alleged slaves before the court forthwith. The writ was promptly issued by Judge Paine, and the eight black people were brought before him. In reply to the writ the Lemmon family, as respondents, stated that the eight persons in question were legally their property, their chattels; that they were slaves, and that being so, and sailing from the port of Norfolk, in the slave State of Vir-

ginia, they never touched at, landed or came into the harbor of New York except for the purpose of passage or transit from Virginia to the State of Texas—that is to say, from one slave State into another.

To this return the relator, represented by E. D. Culver and John Jay, as counsel (H. D. Lapaugh and Henry L. Clinton appearing for the respondents, and representing the interests of the slaveholders), at once interposed a general demurrer, on the ground that the facts stated in the return did not constitute a legal cause for the restraint from liberty of the colored people. The case was argued at great length, and, in an elaborate opinion, Justice Paine decided, in substance, that upon the free soil of the Empire State of New York no human being could, for a moment, remain in a condition of slavery, and that whenever slaves from the South set foot upon that soil, unless they could be detained under the national law relating to fugitive slaves, they at once lost their shackles and became, in every sense of the word, freemen. He held that the Fugitive Slave Law was inoperative in regard to the eight so-called Lemmon slaves, and did not affect them, and he, therefore, directed that they be set at liberty, and be allowed to go where they would."

General Arthur will get the electoral vote of his own great State, to whose principles of freedom he has ever been so true.

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK.

Democratic Candidate for President.

I have seen General Hancock; that is all. I know him, however, as all know him, to be a splendid soldier and good field commander. He entered West Point in 1840, graduated and entered the army in 1844. Some over-partial friend of his in an article in the Washington *Post* of the 25th of June instant—evidently prepared beforehand, and one cannot help suspecting by a member of his Gettysburg staff, rather over does the thing, and wants General Hancock elected because of his personal bravery and daring in the field. What nonsense! Why personal bravery, although of the first importance, and always the first to elicit admiration is certainly no rare or uncommon quality with the American soldier of any rank, and was especially conspicuous among officers during the war. Who ever yet heard of a graduate of West Point turning his back to the enemy? It is as natural to an American soldier to be brave in battle, as it is for him to divide his last ration with a hungry comrade.

I would, I hope, be the last to pluck a leaf from the well-earned laurels of General Hancock, but a soldier who can endorse the solid South, and its ways, and render possible a continuance of these barbarities, is not the soldier whom the American People want for President.

Mr. English has always been a Democrat; before, throughout, and since the war. He served four terms in Congress, became a banker, and is said to be very rich, and that, I believe, is all his warmest admirers, if he has any, can say for him.

The following article from the New York *Times* of the 25th of the present month (June) which, independent of its subject, is one of the best newspaper articles ever written, expresses so well the real sentiment of the people of this country that I give it in preference to anything I could say:

"THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

It is a peculiarly constituted party which sends rebel brigadiers to Congress because of their rebellion, and which nominates a Union general as its candidate for President of the United States because of his loyalty. Tilden might have said with Louis Napoleon: 'I represent a principle, a cause, and a defeat,' for he had at least copiously protested against centralization and militarism, he had done something to purify the public service, and he was the only possible representative of the claims of a "defrauded" party. But Hancock—what potency is there in his name to awaken proud memories, what suggestions are there in his career to quicken the flagging energies of a moribund party? Does anybody know what Gen. Hancock thinks about the principles of finance, about the tariff, civil service reform, inter-State commerce, or free ships? Does anybody care whether he be a competent judge of men, one fairly equipped to give the country a pure administration, and to stand between it and corrupt or hasty legislation? Is there a man who knows Gen. Hancock, even superficially, who can think without a scornful smile, of the possibility of his becoming the President of the United States? His godfathers in baptism may not have dreamed when they gave him his name that the child would grow to be indeed a Winfield Scott, very much diluted, and it probably did not occur to the Southern delegates who brought about his nomination that they were staking all their hopes of power upon an inflated Franklin Pierce. Already we are asked to credit with 'an accurate knowledge of the principles of constitutional government' a soldier who had in him enough of the politician to forget that he was sent to govern Louisiana, not to echo the palaver of the crafty intriguers who had quickly taken the intellectual measure of the Major-General. We shall next be invited to have faith in the latent capacity for statesmanship of a man whom the managers of his campaign must keep under lock and key if they would prevent him from making an ass of himself, and the admiration of a trustful community will, ere long, be directed to the chastened eloquence of the letter of acceptance of a candidate who could not have talked for ten minutes to the convention which nominated him without convincing even them that they had placed at the head of their ticket a pretentious blockhead.

It was entirely fitting that a convention which nominated a Northern general to resurrect a Confederate Government should select a millionaire banker with a hard-money record to help his party to carry in October a State which has been and is the hot-bed of inflation and repudiation. William H. English is just as certainly a man of decided ability as his associate on the ticket is the very essence of commonplace. Were it a question of his election as President, it might be a

profitable task to compare his training and achievements in civil life with those of James A. Garfield. But it would be more than ridiculous to mention in the same category a man whose reputation for statesmanship rests on a few 'poppycock phrases' and one of the foremost of American legislators. Everybody remembers how the Democratic ticket of 1872 was depicted by Nast. This year the fluttering inconsequential addition to Greeley's coat-tails will have to be replaced by the massive solidity of a Vice-Presidential candidate who will have to make believe very hard that he is the tail of a ticket of which Hancock is the head

The fearful and wonderful oratory which marked the close of the convention was worthy of the cause of the elect of the fire-eaters—the Bombastes of the latest Democratic attempt to bridge the 'bloody chasm.' The sudden elevation of John Kelly, who but a day before had been treated with contempt and contumely, into the position of a dictator of the policy of the National Democracy, was a thorougly appropriate climax to the inconsistencies of a body which regarded neither principle nor precedent. The men who went to Cincinnati 'over the slaughtered body of the Democratic Party,' who 'stabbed Robinson to the heart,' and went 'with hands still bloody' to claim the places of those who had stood faithful, have been recognized as controlling the disposal of the Presidency of the United States. 'Bolting' has been crowned with applause in a Democratic convention, and the fortunes of the party have been staked upon the solidity of the Irish-Catholic vote of the North and the fraudulenl Bourbon vote of the South. But the wire-pullers of Cincinnati have reckoned without their host. Though 'Col.' Fellows and John Kelly clasp hands before a Democratic convention, though the cause of the Brigadiers be once more the cause of Tammany, there is no political cement strong enough to reunite the party factions of this city and State. Tilden is not yet ready to become the Thurlow Weed of the local Democracy, full of superannuated wisdom and garrulous memories, and Tilden's friends are still less ready to share place and power with Tammany Hall. The Democratic 'love-feast' was doubtless a most encouraging spectacle to hordes of hungry office-seekers, but the very causes that brought it about will prevent the realization of the hopes it awakened. Bitter dissensions are not healed by the shaking of hands, personal injuries are not wiped out by a flow of turgid oratory, and lucrative patronage is not surrendered on a hurrah. New York is as far from being won as it was on the day the convention met, and every day that makes the significance of the Cincinnati nominations clearer to the apprehension of the American people will render their triumph more difficult in this or any other doubtful State.

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